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MS ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY 23 D 43

In the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, is an Icelandic vellum MS, 23 D 43, dealing almost wholly with medical subjects. It is the richest medical MS yet found from the Old Norse period. It was discovered by Mr. Edward Gwynn, Fellow of Trinity College, while engaged in cataloguing the Irish MSS of the Academy. The MS was turned over by Mr. Gwynn to Professor Carl Marstrand, then of Trinity, now of Oslo, who with some aid from Professor Oluf Kolsrud made a complete transcript. The work being outside the field of these scholars, it was temporarily laid aside; and in the summer of 1923 Professor Marstrand offered me all his material provided I would undertake to edit the MS. I accepted the task, and in the course of the following winter went to Dublin to investigate the MS itself. Whatever I give in this paper is based on my collation of Professor Marstrand's transcript with the original.

The MS is a small octavo volume, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, consisting of seventy-three leaves and a small strip of vellum inserted and numbered as an additional leaf. Except for two pages it is well preserved, though stained and browned by exposure. The whole is written in a clear hand in black or in brown ink with chapter headings in red (now badly faded) and with initials in red and in green.

The contents fall into the following divisions:

1. Charms and conjurations for stemming blood and curing fevers
2. A brief chapter on the depth of the seas
3. A book of simples [i.e., uncompounded medicines—chiefly herbs] and their efficacy

4. An antidotarium [i.e., book of compound medicines]
5. A lapidary [on the medical uses of gems]
6. A leechbook [or possibly two]—clearly going back to a leechbook arranged "from head to foot"—listing diseases of the various parts of the body and giving treatments of them
7. A cookbook

Aside from the Dublin codex, there are extant five medical MSS in Old Norse—three Icelandic and two Norwegian—all fragmentary.¹ Of these, four are chiefly leechbooks and the fifth is a small fragment of a West Norwegian book of simples translated from the Danish of Henrik Harpestræng.² Two of the Icelandic MSS also contain chapters coming from the same book of simples.³

The importance of the Dublin MS is, in the first place, that it throws light on all the other MSS, the fragmentariness of which has left many unsolved problems; and, in the second place, that it gives us a great deal of new material not contained in any of the other MSS. This material is of great interest to the medical historian, but of even greater to the philologist, who finds a wealth of lexicographic material that enables him to follow the creation of a medical vocabulary in Old Norse times.

Editors of the five MSS just referred to have pointed out that nearly all the medical literature of Iceland and Norway presupposes Danish originals. In fact, the West Norwegian book of simples has been traced to the K MS of Henrik Harpestræng—or more accurately to a now lost MS of the same type as K.⁴ The Icelandic MSS show, too, that Norway has been a middle link. This movement of medical literature—Denmark to Norway to Iceland—is made even more evi-

¹ A.M. 655, 4to, from the second half of the thirteenth century. Edited by Konr. Gislason, *Fire og Fyrrsetys Prøver af Oldnordisk Sprog og Literatur* (Kjøbenhavn, 1860), pp. 470-75 (Icelandic).

A.M. 194, 8vo (37 recto—45 verso) written in 1387. Edited by Kr. Kålund, *Alfrði Íslensk, I* (København, 1908), 61-77 (Icelandic).

A.M. 434, 12mo, from the second half of the fifteenth century. Edited by Kr. Kålund, "Den islandske lægebog Codex arnamagneanus 434a," 12mo, in *Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skr.*, 6. Række, København, 1907 (Icelandic).

A.M. 696, 4to, from ca. 1350. Edited by Marius Hægstad, "Gamalnorsk Fragment av Henrik Harpestræng," *Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter*, Kristiania, 1906 (West Norwegian).

A.M. 673a, 4to, from ca. 1370. Edited by Marius Hægstad, "Eit Stykke av ei Austlandsk Lækebok fraa 14 Hundrdaaret," *Vidensk. Selsk. Forh.*, Kristiania, 1913 (East Norwegian).

² A.M. 696.

³ A.M. 194 and A.M. 434.

⁴ Cf. Marius Kristensen, *Harpestræng* (København, 1920), p. xxix. I. Reichborn-Kjennerud, *Karakteristik av de gamle nordiske lægebøger* (Kristiania, 1924), p. 3.

dent by the Dublin MS. Thus the book of simples, the lapidary, and the cookbook go back almost *in toto* to a Danish parallel to K. A few chapters of simples may have been added in Norway. The leech book includes almost everything in the published MSS but adds a great deal that may, at least in part, be of Norwegian-Icelandic origin. But the antidotarium is an entirely new find in Scandinavian medicine. That some such work was known in Scandinavia is clear from a few names in the Danish MS A.M. 187,¹ and from the Latin version in MS Gl. kl. Saml. 1654, Copenhagen, the same MS that contains the *Dosis M. H. Daci*.² The antidotarium is full of Norwegian forms, but I have not found positive evidence of Danish antecedents.

That the chief source of medical knowledge in Scandinavia was the famous school at Salerno has been pointed out by earlier editors, particularly by Dr. Marius Kristensen, the editor of the Danish Harpestræng MSS. Dr. Kristensen has shown conclusively that the Harpestræng sources are two eleventh- or twelfth-century works from Salerno, Constantinus Africanus, *De Gradibus Simplicium*, and Macer Floridus, *De Viribus Herbarum*.³ The discovery, in the Dublin MS, of an antidotarium of the Salerno type strengthens Dr. Kristensen's conclusions. The source of this section is largely the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, also an eleventh-century Salernian work, and the most famous pharmacological work of the Middle Ages. In our MS there are listed in all sixty compound drugs. Of these, forty-four are derived from *Antidotarium Nicolai*, the accounts often being word-for-word translations. Of the other sixteen, eleven go back to Salernian sources, three are mere duplications of names. Of the two others I have as yet not identified parallels nor discovered sources.

But our MS gives us one new source contact not noted by students of Scandinavian medicine. Both in Danish and in Old Norse MSS there are several chapters on blood-letting, the origin of which has puzzled editors. The Dublin MS has similar chapters, clearly related to the ones already published, but differing so radically from them that there can be no thought of the derivation of the Dublin chapters from

¹ Viggo Sæby, *Det Arnamagnæanske Håndskrift Nr. 187 i Oktas*, København, 1886.

² Its presence in the library of Archb. Jens Grand (cf. *Ann. f. n. Old.* [1860], p. 174) is not conclusive, for the archbishop had lived abroad many years prior to the cataloguing of his books.

³ Marius Kristensen, *Harpestræng*, pp. xi ff.

the Danish. Dr. Kristensen states that he has been unable to find sources for the Danish version.

For the four chapters of the Dublin MS I believe I have located the source in a medical tract forming one section of the large encyclopedic MS 17, St. John's College, Oxford, a Latin MS written in England in 1110-12.¹ This MS contains a version of Bede's *De Phlebotomia* varying greatly from the version printed by Giles, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera*, Volume VI. The Dublin MS follows closely the very passages in 17 St. J. not found in Giles's text. The Old Norse compiler could get in contact with Bede almost anywhere in Europe; but a special augmented and re-worked Bede, such as that of 17 St. J., was probably obtained by him from England. We must, therefore, in any future study of Scandinavian medical history consider not only the possible loans from Salerno and Montpelier via Denmark, but those from English sources as well.

There are other minor passages of our MS that may also point to England. Particularly is this true of a brief chapter from Galen's *Prognosticon* that agrees with the version in the St. John's MS.

To pass now to the internal problems of the MS. The peculiarities of paleography and language establish the MS as Icelandic of the fifteenth century—of the second half rather than of the first. There seem to have been two main scribes. Certain changes that begin at folio 26 recto seem to indicate a new scribe from this place on. The changes are slight and chiefly in spelling. Paleographically, the principal difference is in a very marked reduction in the use of abbreviations and in a more open hand. Besides the main scribes—or scribe—one interpolator and three or four assistants have written passages varying from four and one-half lines to two and one-half pages. Of these assistants the last might have been elevated to the rank of a main scribe had the whole MS been preserved. He has written the beginning of the lapidary, which concludes the volume as now bound, but the greater portion of this—at least six leaves—has been cut out.

The characteristics that establish the date of the MS are both paleographic and linguistic. There is, in the first place, that excess of abbreviations peculiar to the fifteenth-century scribe. Particularly significant is the regular use of the interlinear dot to indicate double consonants. The almost uniform use of svarabhakti *u*, e.g., *madur*

¹ The medical part of the MS has been published by Dr. Charles Singer, *Medical Literature of the Dark Ages*, London, 1917.

(9 verso), *latur* (2 recto), *adur* (1r), is a spelling not fully established before the fifteenth century. So also is the change of *nn* > *rn* after *ei*: *steirn* = *steinn*, *eirn* = *einn* (29r), and even *hirna* = *hinna*, "a membrane" (31v). Spellings peculiarly Icelandic, though not necessarily of so late a date, are the retention of *h* before *r* and *l*, though numerous exceptions point to Norwegian contact. So also is the change of *é* > *jé* or *ié*; the complete fusion of *æ* and *ø*; the use of the diphthong *ey*, never *øy* or *øi*; and the change of *eng* > *eing*, e.g., *leingi* (11v).

That, however, Norwegian originals have existed for almost all sections of the MS is also evident. Clear proof of this is found in the not infrequent dropping of *h* before *r* and *l*, e.g., *reinsar* (7r), *rensar* (16r) = *hreinsar*, "cleans, purifies"; *ræz[lu]* (23r), *ræzdlu* (S. 23r)¹ = oblique case of *hræzla*, f. "terror"; *land* = *hland* (S. 14v), "urine." The use of *æ* = *e* in *ælld* (31r) = acc. sg. of *eldr*, "fire," and *svæfnleysi* (41r) = *svæfnleysi*, "sleeplessness," may also be Norwegian. Though *u*-umlaut of "a" is dominant, a few unumlauted forms may come from a Norwegian source: *fadur* (3r) = Icl. *fǫdur*; *hafud* (S. 16r) = *hǫfud*; *of-gangu* (6r) = oblique case of *of-ganga*, f. "excessive walking." Several times the pp. fem. of *stappa* is written *stapp*^d (16r, 21v, etc.), which, if it is expanded *stappud*, would fall in the same category, but as the neut. of the participle is often used indiscriminately for fem. and masc., we may have to expand *stappad*.

The use of *gh* = spirant *g*, which is frequent though the exception, is more common in Norway than in Iceland. We find it often for the guttural spirant, e.g., *lōgh* (27r) = acc. sg. of *lōgr*, "juice, liquid"; *magha* (29r) = oblique case of *magi*, m. "stomach." Though infrequently, it occurs also for palatal spirant, e.g., *ulf-sigh* (34r), n. "falling of the uvula"; *deggi* (48r) = d. sg. of *dagr*, "day."

But more definite proof of the Norwegian antecedents of our MS is given by the vocabulary. For one section, the leechbook, *Kålund* has already shown the origin to be Danish through a Norwegian intermediary.²

The following list gives a few illustrations:

augna-nest, n? *canthus* (21) Ross, *Norsk Ordbog* p. 544 nest, n. *øiekrog* (Sæt. Tel. Ma. augne-nest. Ogsaa mask. Tel. neste). Danish Leechbook øgne nest.

augna-ra, f. *canthus* (23) Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 585, raa, m. Particularly important because DL. here has *øræ*.

¹ A number of leaves of the MS are incorrectly bound and numbered. These I have termed "the secondary series," and in referring to the folios mark them "S."

² Kålund, *Det Arnam. Haandsk.* 434, p. 398.

- aungvi, m. (=ongvi) *asthma* cf. Hægstad, *Gamalnorsk Fragment*, p. 13.
 balldebra, f. *daisy* (15). The Icelandic form *balldursbrá* also occurs.
 blomstur-kold, f. (?) *the center of a flower* cf. Aasen, p. 375 kold, f. *en fordybning i jorden, en lavt liggende flate*. The scribe did not understand the word.
 briost-speni, m. *nipple*, Icl. briost-varta.
 burkn, m. *fern*, Icl. burkni, m. cf. Kälund, *A.M.* 434.
 deili-ker, n. *a vessel* (of definite size) (S. 27v) Found once in *NgL*, V, 132, listed as doubtful; now confirmed by this reading.
 eski-borkur, m. *the bark of the ash* (18v). This occurs in a chapter not in the Danish original. The ash is not Icelandic so that the addition may be Norwegian.
 fima, f. *disease* Ross, 161 *omgangs syge* Ryf. Jæd. feema.
 frjo, n. *seed*. Icl. fríe also occurs.
 greni-tre, n. *spruce*. Not in Danish; possibly added in Norway.
 gron, f. *spruce*. Same as preceding.
 jam-giegttt, adv. Icl. jafn-gegnt, *just opposite to*.
 jamn-vægi, n. *an equal weight*. Icl. jafn-vægi.
 kaun, m. *boil*. The Icl. is always neuter.
 kodda, acc. pl. m. *testicles* cf. Aasen, 374 kodd, m. *testicle* (=eista). Icl. kodri, m. *scrotum*, metaphorically *virilitas*.
 læknis-blad, n. *plantain* Icl. græði-sura.
 smysl, f. *ointment* cf. Aasen, 713. The Icl. is *smyrsel*, n. pl. Both forms occur.
 veitur, n. *sheep tick* Aasen, 915 *faarelus*. Not recorded in Icl.

Though less numerous than the Norwegian, Danish forms also appear frequently:

- annbod, n. *membrum virile* DL. anboth. The word is common in Icl. and Norw. but this specific meaning seems carried over from DL.
 bi-stockur, m. *bee-hive* DL. bystock. Icl. bý-flugabú; Norw. biehus, bi-kube.
 bukarfe, m. *fumitory* DL. bukarwe. A mistake carried over by translator (cf. M. Kristensen, p. 302).
 berendi, *genitalia muliebria* from DL. bærændæ.
 etur, n. *poison*, Icl. eitr.
 halld, n. *constipation* (or possibly *tenesmus*?). The word not used in this sense in Norw. or Icl.
 hens, n. eg. *chicken* cf. DL. et hens.

Many more could be enumerated, but this must suffice.

The MS offers, furthermore, many words not recorded before in the old languages and a goodly number neither recorded in the old nor in modern dialects. They are largely compounds created for the special medical use:

- armkrika-ædur, f. *the vein in the crook of the arm*.
 barns-efnni, n. *foetus* (35r).

barns-væni, n. (1) *expectation of a child*, (2) *foetus*.

blod-pungi, m. *state of being bloodshot (eyes)*.

briost-veilsa, f. *inflammation of the chest, consumption*. (Col. Sal. i. 475, *extirpat phthisis*.)

bruna-blod, n. *cholera rubea*.

farens-yrt, f. *hyosciamus, henbane*.

fiall-kominn, pp. *having come down from the mountains*.

hryggjar-tangi, m. *the end of the spine*.

humsku-fullur, adj. *having excessive humors*.

istur-kvidur, m. *paunch-belly*.

svalg-rum, n. *gullet*.

tungl-far, n. *course of the moon*.

The internal evidence of the MS gives us, then, a fair history of its development. This can be supplemented by some external evidence. The records of the Royal Irish Academy show nothing as to the time or place of acquisition, but I found in the library of Trinity College a paper MS L-2-27, catalogued but never studied, that upon closer investigation proved to be a copy of the Academy MS.¹ The Trinity MS is made directly from the Academy MS and not merely from one of the same type.² The copy was made in 1756 and probably in Copenhagen. Many of the spellings indicate a Danish transcriber or one under the influence of Danish linguistic atmosphere. Furthermore, the MS was bought by the library from the Reverend Mr. Johnstone, chaplain of the British Legation in Copenhagen. It is safe, then, to conclude that MS 23 D 43 was in Copenhagen in 1756.

Two marginal notes made by former owners throw a little more light on its history. On folio 15v, opposite the article on Balldebra, someone had added: "hon vex j skridu j horgardal." And on folio S. 9v, "NB urtica netla a Islandsku hcensabane þat er urtica sem brenner vex j Saurbær i Kræklinga hlijd." According to Kålund,³ all of these names are found near together in the north of Iceland not far from Holar.

And finally, the last and most interesting evidence is found in the MS itself in a title in red ink now so faded that both Professor Mar-

¹ Cf. T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, 1900*; Olaf Skulerud, *Catalogue of Norse Manuscripts in Edinburgh, Dublin, and Manchester, Kristiania, 1919*.

² Henning Larsen, "Nok et Harpestræng-Haandskrift," *Danske Studier* (Köbenhavn, 1925), p. 177.

³ *Bidrag til en historisk-typografisk Beskrivelse af Island*, II (Köbenhavn, 1877-82), 104 and 108.

strander and I at first passed it by without even seeing it. On folio S. 14r, which begins a gathering of the leechbook and was undoubtedly the introduction of an independent section, we find first a Latin passage on phlebotomy and next a short section—a typical introduction and one paralleled in many MSS¹—beginning: “Madur het ypocras. hann var spakaztur lækna. hann baud virkta vin sinum a andlaz degi sinum at hann skyldi leggja undir hofud ser j grof hans allrar (!) virkta bækur hans.”

Alongside the opening of this anecdote two half-lines on the right side of the page are seemingly blank. A trace of red suggests that the space once contained a title. In the very brightest of light and after wetting the vellum slightly, I read: “Hier hefir lækna bok þorleifs biörnssonar.”

Records show a Thorleifur Björnsson to have been well nigh the most prominent man in Iceland ca. 1480. *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*² has a letter from the National Council of Norway to all people who dwell in Iceland, appointing Torleif Björnssen *hyrd stioræ*. Records published in *Diplomatarium Islandicum* show that he retained the position for several years and that he died in 1486. Further, we have a letter from the brothers and sisters of “Munkelífs klostre” dated 1480 stating that they have “anamet ærlighan man Torleiff Björnssen i fuldkomplighet bröðralagh meth oss i Gudh besynderligha fore then kærleek ock tro ock tröst akt ock villia ock gudlighit begerilse som han hafwer til waara hælgha ordens patrona fru Sancte Birgitte.”³

Here, then, we have our clue. Our MS is in all probability prepared for—possibly even by—Thorleif Björnsson for use in Iceland. It goes back to Norwegian sources and has probably been assembled at Munkelif in Bergen, then one of the leading centers of learning and one with which Thorleif Björnsson himself was intimately connected.

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¹ Kålund, A.M. 434, p. 369; *Alfræði*, I, 61; Südhoff, *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, III, 280; O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish MSS in British Museum*, pp. 265, 281; *Articella*, Lyons, 1534.

² *Dipl. Norw.*, Vol. V, No. 915; the letter is dated Bergen, Saturday after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1481.

³ C. A. Lange, *De Norske Klostres Historie*, p. 304; *Dipl. Norw.*, Vol. XII, No. 216.

THE PUNCTUATION OF *BEOWULF* AND LITERARY INTERPRETATION

All who have read the Old English *Beowulf* know its difficulties, compared with modern poetry, owing to its different sentence structure. Some of these peculiarities, as noted by Tolman in his excellent article on "The Style of Anglo-Saxon Poetry,"¹ are abrupt transitions, the few and less clear transitional particles in the poem, the rather common lack of clear indication regarding dependence of clauses, the frequent interposition of parenthetical expressions. We see at once in beginning the poem that we must deal with a new style. Yet something may be done—perhaps one may venture to say much—for this old poetic style by a more appropriate punctuation than has sometimes been accorded the ancient masterpiece.

Some idea of what I have in mind may be gathered from comparison of the punctuation of the poem by different editors, and by suggestions as to certain kinds of sentences and certain typical passages. For example, of the first one hundred lines in the poem, ninety-eight exactly, Grein made eighteen complete sentences,² fourteen closed with periods, and four with exclamation points followed by capitals in the next words. Schücking's *Heyne* of 1913 divides the same ninety-eight lines into thirty-one complete sentences, Chambers' edition into twenty-three, and Klaeber's into twenty. Now, granting all that may be said for individual preference in pointing, it is scarcely possible that all of these systems of punctuation represent desirable divisions of the same matter, or indeed what the *Beowulf* poet intended.

That we may understand more fully the differences among these editors, some further facts may be ventured. Besides the period and comma Grein used the colon twelve times in the lines cited, the exclamation point five times, the semicolon once (l. 46), the parenthesis

¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, III, 17 ff., reprinted in *Views about Hamlet and Other Essays*, pp. 337 ff. Mention should also be made of the exhaustive study by Schücking, *Die Grundsätze der Satzverknüpfung im Beowulf*, on which I have ventured to make one criticism in another part of this paper.

² *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, I (1857), 255 ff.

once (ll. 55b-56a). Schücking uses all of Grein's fourteen periods, and a period for nine of his colons, for four of his exclamation points, for three of his commas, and for his single semicolon. He also uses the semicolon for Grein's colon three times, the parenthesis as by Grein, and he adds a dash at the end of line 85. Curiously at variance with most editors, but in agreement with the original Heyne,¹ Schücking retains Grein's exclamation point at the end of line 11, but does not make the sentence end there. Chambers, who gives Wyatt's edition the entire credit for his punctuation,² uses periods for all such marks in Grein, for four each of Grein's colons and exclamation points, and for his single semicolon. Chambers differs from Grein mainly in his use of the semicolon for Grein's colon in eight instances, for his comma in two cases (ll. 82, 89), for his semicolon in line 46, and for the exclamation point in line 40. Chambers also uses the dash more freely, as before and after 18b, and for Grein's parenthesis about 55b-56a. Klaeber uses the period as by Grein except after 16a, for Grein's exclamation points twice (ll. 25, 52), for his colon once (l. 42), for his semicolon at the end of 46, and for his comma after 36a. He uses the semicolon instead of Grein's colon eleven times, for Grein's period in line 16, for his exclamation point in 40, and for his commas in 82 and 89. Klaeber retains Grein's exclamation points at the ends of lines 3 and 11, and shows that they complete sentences by beginning the next lines with capitals. He also uses the dash, not only as by Chambers, but at the ends of lines 30 and 98.

In general, we may say that Schücking's breaking up of these first ninety-eight lines of *Beowulf* into thirty-one sentences, as compared with Grein's eighteen, implies less of connection in the material than is warranted by the consecutiveness of the thought. Such consecutiveness and closer union of parts of the sentence, too, are better shown by the more frequent use of the semicolon, as by Chambers and Klaeber, than by the use of the colon as by Grein. Disuse of the exclamation point entirely, as by Chambers, need not be adopted, though less frequent use as by Klaeber (ll. 3, 11), or by Schücking in 11 only, is much better than the too frequent use of that point by Grein. On the other hand, Klaeber's more common use of the dash is

¹ At least the second edition (1868).

² See his Introduction, pp. xxix-xxx.

particularly appropriate to the frequent parenthetical phrase or clause throughout *Beowulf*, and the scarcely less frequent breaking off of the sentence for an added phrase or clause in somewhat different construction.

An idea of the difference in sense, and so in literary interpretation, that may result from different punctuation may be illustrated by some passages in these first one hundred lines. For example, Grein connected the *þær*-clause in line 89 with the preceding lines, evidently giving to *þær* its not unusual meaning of "where." This makes the line 89b-90a explain more directly the *drēam . . . hlūdne in healle* of lines 88-89. The song of creation is made to follow immediately, as if a climax to the reasons why Grendel, *fēond on helle* (l. 101) and envious of man's happiness as of his favor with the Creator, attacked Heorot.¹ Such punctuation and such interpretation reflect new credit on the cleverness of the *Beowulf* poet, who thus makes the *scop* sing of that creation of the world and of man which brought on the great struggle between Grendel's devilish ancestor and human beings. Surely no song could have inspired more deadly hate in the mind of Grendel, God's adversary (*Beow.*, 786, 1682). If, too, the English poet, who knew his Bible and medieval tradition, not to say his Old English *Genesis*, used the song of creation for this purpose, he is not only accorded some greater art, but is relieved of the necessity of going to Virgil or any other classical source for his inspiration. The punctuation of Grein, it seems to me, is fully justified and should be adopted.

A second passage in which a *þær*-clause, though not so punctuated by Grein, might better be joined more closely with the preceding sentence occurs in line 36. The reason for such closer union is that, after mentioning the laying of Scyld's body in the ship, the poet clearly passes to an emphasis of the treasures with which the ship was loaded. He speaks immediately of never having heard of a comelier ship adorned, not for the funeral of a king as we might expect, but "with war weapons and war weeds, bills and burnies." The ship, too, still in

¹ See my article in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVI, 113 ff. The song of creation, by the way, was punctuated by Grein with commas only. Yet it is made up of three clearly marked parts: the creation of the world, the creation of light and vegetation, the creation of life—a neat summary of the main features of the first chapter of *Genesis*. Separation of the song into three parts, as by Holder (1884), Wyatt (1894), and Chambers (1913), through the use of semicolons, better accords with the sense and is demanded by the length of the passage.

mind, he continues, "on its bosom lay a great quantity of treasure which must with him pass far away into the possession of the flood." Only with *him mid* of line 41 does the poet return to the dead king, who then becomes the center of interest to the end of the passage in line 53. The objection to referring *him* of line 40 to Scyld, the usual interpretation, is that the quantity of treasure described could not have been laid on the bosom or lap of the dead body, placed as it was with its back against the mast,¹ to say nothing of the unseemliness of such a procedure. Earle avoided the difficulty by translating *him on bearme*, "in his keeping." But instead of using this exceptional meaning of *bearme* all difficulty is resolved by referring *him* to *cēol* (l. 38), as we should expect from the emphasis in these lines upon the ship.²

Three other examples of *þær*-clauses in the first five hundred lines may be considered. The first, in line 440, is separated from the preceding sentence by a colon in Grein, a period in Schücking, but by a semicolon only in Chambers and Klaeber. Even closer union is possible. The boast of Beowulf is not completed until the idea is conveyed by the *þær*-clause that the fight with Grendel is to be one to the death, "where [when] he whom death takes must rely on the judgment of God." In line 493, both Grein and Schücking place only a comma before the *þær*-clause. The action is not complete with the clearing of a place for the Geats, but with their taking the seats provided, "proud of their strength." The meaning of "to which place, whither" is entirely possible for *þær*, as in examples cited by Toller-Bosworth, but "where" alone is sufficient. Garnett, following Grein's punctuation, so renders the clause: "where the bold-minded hastened to sit, proud in their strength."³

The third example in which the *þær*-clause may be united with the

¹See Stjerna, *Essays on Questions Connected with the Old English Poem of "Beowulf,"* pp. 127 ff.

²It would indeed be possible, and by no means entirely out of keeping, to assume that *him mid* (l. 41) and *hine* (l. 43) refer to the ship. In that case specific resumption of the reference to the dead king would begin with *hine* (l. 45). In any case the adornment of the ship, with all its elaboration, is a tribute to the departed Scyld.

³Incidentally, we know from ll. 1188-91 that Beowulf at least was seated with the sons of Hrothgar. It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that *sunu* of l. 2013, where Beowulf tells of this earlier feast, must be a late West Saxon accusative plural for earlier *suna*. The earlier and later passages should agree, and the apparent discrepancy may be easily attributed to the late copyist.

preceding sentence occurs in line 497. Here Grein used his favorite colon, which Klaeber has made a period, but Schücking and Chambers a semicolon, thus recognizing closer relation, at least, to the preceding sentence. The short paragraph, lines 491-98, embodies three things: the seating of the Geats as friends in the banquet hall, the serving of the mead (*wered*), and the happiness of the Danes and Geats before it was disturbed by the churlish Unferth. A comma before *þær* in line 497 would emphasize the unity of the three ideas composing the paragraph. Support to this interpretation is given by the fact that, in telling Hygelac of this day of feasting in lines 2014-16a, Beowulf remembers only the happiness of the company, making no mention of Unferth's interruption.

Comparison of these two passages, and consideration of the unity we should expect in these last lines of the paragraph, might have led to a better interpretation of *duguð unlýtel* than has usually been accorded it. Assuming the ordinary meaning of *duguð* as "company [of the doughty]" Klaeber places the phrase under the heading of "incongruous combinations" in *Modern Philology*, III, 239-40. Schücking says, "*Die Bedeutung . . . wird klar aus Andreas 1270: þā cōm hæleða þrēat . . . duguð unlýtel.*" But Holthausen, though citing Klaeber's article above, is clearly in doubt, asking, "*Ist unlýtel Prädikat?*" Now the simplest explanation is to assume that the expression was intended to explain and emphasize *drēam* of the preceding line, that is, to continue the idea of the happiness at the feast, *duguð* being intended as practically a synonym of *drēam*. The meaning of "happiness," too, is fully justified, not only by the semantic development of *duguð*, but by a sufficient number of such uses in other places. For the latter I cite from Toller-Bosworth, *Daniel* (l. 87), *Gifa ðe him tō duguþe Drihten scyrede*, "gifts which the Lord had bestowed on him for his happiness"; and especially *Christ* (ll. 1407-8), in which the word is united with *drēam*, *Eallum bedæled duguðum and drēamum*, "deprived of all happiness [blessings] and joys." The semantic development is natural. *Duguð*, "the availing," became on the one side "the doughty man, hero [men, heroes]" or "the benefit, gift"; and on the other, "that which characterizes the hero" as "excellence, glory, prosperity, blessing, happiness." Nor need the fact that *duguð*

is usually concrete in meaning as used by the *Beowulf* poet be an insuperable objection to this abstract sense. Such abstract meaning occurs in *Beowulf*, 3174, perhaps in lines 2020 and 2501.¹

Like the *þær*-clause, that beginning with *þanan* (*þonan*, *þanon*) may be more closely associated with the preceding, since *þanan* may quite as properly have relative force as *þær*. There are four places in the first five hundred lines in which *þanan*, or rather its more common variant *þanon*, begins a clause, that is, in lines 111, 123, 224, 463. Now in line 123 Grein used only a comma before the word, evidently feeling that Grendel's departure to his home "rejoicing in his spoil" was an essential part of the description of this first raid. The comma, better than the semicolon of Chambers and Klaeber, and far better than the period of Schücking, preserves the unity of the action.

I cannot but think this closer union is also better in lines 111 and 463. In the first, from lines 111 to 114, the poet is accounting for the evil progeny of Cain in such creatures as Grendel, and that accounting is not complete until the concluding lines *þanon*, etc., "whence all evil births were born," etc., are finished. These lines alone indicate the relation of Grendel to Cain, and are an intimate and essential part of the description.²

The *þanon*-clause of line 463 is also, it seems to me, an essential part of the preceding sentence. In welcoming Beowulf, Hrothgar naturally refers to Beowulf's father and his intimate relation to the Danes. The passage (ll. 459-72) is made up of four parts. First is the mention of the feud and its occasion (ll. 459-61a inclusive). Here,

¹ To the citations of *dugud*, "joy, happiness," cf. also *Christ*, l. 563, *Genesis*, l. 930, *Satan*, l. 122, as noted by Cook in his edition of *Christ*. J. R. Clark Hall (1901) has even translated the *Beowulf* phrase in l. 498, "no slight joy of Danes and Weders"; and Tinker (1902), "no little rejoicing of Danes and Weders." I venture that *for dugude* in *Beowulf*, 2020, is better in the sense of "for courtesy" than the usual "before the nobles." It is a mark of gracious kindness that Hrothgar's daughter should bear the cup to the earls.

² I cannot accept Klaeber's direct union of *in Caines cynne* (l. 107a) with the preceding lines, as first suggested by Sievers, rather than with the following as by other editors. That there is intended direct connection of *Caines* with the preceding I grant, because Cain was the only one the Creator directly proscribed. But that connection is entirely clear if we assume that *wonsaelli wer* of l. 105 means Cain, as I ventured to suggest in my article on "The Legends of Cain" (*Mod. Lang. Assoc. Pub.*, XXI, 831 ff.). The Lord never directly proscribed Grendel, nor did Grendel inhabit specifically the dwelling place of monsters (*fífelcynnes eard*). Grendel's home, as we have been told immediately before, was in the moors, the fens, and inaccessible places (*fæsten*). For the holding in suspense of the name of Cain for a few lines while he is being described we have the far more striking example of the hero Beowulf, who is characterized in various ways from ll. 194 to 343, when he is first announced to us by name. Closer union of the *þanon*-clause in l. 111 would imply the same in l. 1265.

incidentally, a comma after *mæste* (l. 459) as by Chambers and Holt-hausen is better than a fuller pause as by most other editors, since lines 460-61a merely explain the origin of the feud. Next comes the account of Ecgtheow's leaving his native land, his coming to the Danes, and the time of that event in relation to Hrothgar's reign. Again, beginning with 461b we have a third particular in the single sentence reaching through 467a, and completed by the additional clause 467b through 469. The clause beginning 461b is not directly a part of the preceding sentence, as by Grein, but the beginning of the new idea—the self-exile of Ecgtheow. Grein's period after *mihte* (l. 462), which has been usually adopted, was due to his misunderstanding of the preceding clause. On the other hand, Grein rightly saw that lines 465-67a were closely associated with the preceding, even if he unfortunately connected 467b too closely with that which goes before. I would begin a new sentence with 461b, and place commas only at the end of 462 and 464. The passage would then read:

Then, for fear of war, the Weder people were not able to harbor [*habban*] him, whence he sought the Danish folk over the welling of the waves, the noble Seyldings, when I first ruled the people of the Danes and in my youth held the spacious kingdom, the treasure city of heroes.

Finally, in explanation of his becoming king when so young, Hrothgar notes that his elder brother had passed away and adds a pleasant tribute. Of the latter, however, I am inclined to think too much has been made. The *se* of line 469 may better be considered a relative, as in lines 142, 370, and other places. Hrothgar's praise of his elder brother is not like the emphatic *þæt wæs gōð cyning* of line 11, and is more incidental than an exclamation point would imply. The sentence from 467b to the end of 469 mainly explains Hrothgar's youthful accession to the throne and his early possession of so great a kingdom, a kingdom which he could not have been expected to acquire so early by his own powers or under ordinary circumstances.¹

¹ Garnett, following Grein, connects the *ðā*-clause of l. 465 with the preceding sentence, as seems to me best. Schücking's *Grundzüge der Satzverknüpfung im Beowulf* does not include this clause as a possible instance of *ðā* in temporal relation at the beginning of the first half-verse (see § 2, Anm. 1). But Schücking bases his study on a punctuation assumed to be correct, often without regard to the logical basis of sentence structure which I am proposing. That *ðā* (*þā*) should more commonly appear in new sentences at the beginning of the line is only part of the general fact that new sentences more commonly begin the line. For example, the proportion of new sentences beginning the line in the first one hundred lines is 14 to 6, assuming Klaeber's twenty sentences in those lines.

Other instances in which closer union of clauses ordinarily detached is desirable are found in lines 57 and 82. In the latter Grein does so connect the clause *heaðo-wylma bād lāðan līges* with the preceding by using a comma only, and in this is followed by Schücking. The destruction of Heorot by fire, which is alluded to, while seeming so far off to us as we read the poem, actually happened in about five years after Beowulf's visit to Hrothgar, and certainly not many years after the Hart-hall was built. Grein did, indeed, misunderstand the relation of the burning of Heorot to the Grendel horror, but the closer union of the building of the lordly hall and its destruction by fire is fully justified. So the closer union of 57b-58 with the preceding sentence is better than separation by a semicolon, a colon by Grein. The poet has not much space to give to Healfdene. He dismisses him with a reference to his birth as a son of Scylding Beowulf, and to his ruling the Scyldings while he lived to old age (*gamol*). The two references belong together, and at most a comma after *Healfdene* (l. 57) best indicates the fact.

It is characteristic of the *Beowulf* poet to add to one statement, without expressed connection, an explanatory or descriptive phrase or clause. The punctuation should assist the perception of this closer union rather than suggest separation. For example, after *syrede* (l. 161a) and *rāne* (l. 172a) Grein and Chambers use commas, as I think is to be preferred to the semicolons used by Schücking and Klaeber. I would suggest a similar comma after *hȳnða* (l. 166a), and would adopt Holthausen's comma after *frēan* (l. 271a) for a similar reason. In the first case the inhabiting of Heorot by Grendel makes clearer the particular offense which was so disheartening to the Danes. In the second, Beowulf quickly disarms any fear which might have arisen from his insistence on carrying his message directly to Hrothgar by saying: "Nor shall there be anything dark (or deceitful), as I ween," or as we should say, "as I assure you."

In order to indicate the closer union in idea which I believe to be implied, I should assume that *se* at the beginning of line 196 and *þat* in line 309 are true relative pronouns. In the first, indeed, Holder does imply this closer union by using a comma only at the end of line 195. The idea is not that thethane of Hygelac learned of the deeds of Grendel, but thethane of Hygelac, who was the strongest man of

his time, so learned. Lines 194 through 198a are a single sentence. The separation of the relative clause from its antecedent, while foreign to present English and likely enough to mislead the casual reader, is common enough in the Old English period.¹ So the relative clause of 309-10 gives the reason why Beowulf and his men were able to see the timbered hall from so great a distance. Its closer union with the preceding clause makes the situation more vivid. It more naturally leads to the fuller explanation of the following clause: "Its light shone over many lands."

The punctuation of Grein, by which a new sentence is made to begin with 50b has usually been adopted, though Holder suggests a somewhat closer union with the preceding clause by the use of a colon after 50a. The change from past to present tense in the verb *cunnon* perhaps partly accounts for the difference in punctuation. Yet the present tense, I take it, is merely a generalization of the idea conveyed. Not only did the Danish retainers of Scyld not know who received that precious cargo—the specific cause of their sorrow—but no one else, not even hall-counselors or heroes under heaven, have any such knowledge. The break in sentence connection is not really a break in thought, but merely a broadening of the idea. Its intimate relation to the sorrow of the retainers may better be indicated by a dash at most at the end of 50a. In an exactly similar passage in line 162 Chambers and Klaeber use a semicolon only.

This use of the dash, as more frequently by Klaeber, I have already mentioned and would heartily approve for the punctuation of broken sentence structure in *Beowulf* and Old English poetry generally. Grein used it only once in the first five hundred lines, that is, at the end of 114, although he used the parenthesis, which was formerly common in parenthetical expressions four times, as for 55b-56a, 348b-50a, 405b-6, 423b. In the same lines Chambers has five dashes; Schücking, the dash five times and the parenthesis as often; Klaeber, the dash seventeen times. In this respect, too, I think Klaeber's usage the best. While one might differ as to the importance of some of these dashes, as perhaps those at the end of 98 and 169, some more rather than some fewer marks of this sort might be used. I have

¹ How badly such a single sentence (ll. 194-98a) may be broken up is shown by Earle's translation, in which this sentence is separated into four distinct clauses.

already suggested one after 50a. One might also be used to advantage after 119a, and in one or two other places to be discussed later. The dash after 119a would better indicate that the sorrow which the men did not feel was the result of the soundness of their sleep.

Paragraphing also, in the larger sense an element of punctuation in such a blank-verse poem as *Beowulf*, has been given special attention in most modern editions. The manuscript divisions are in general rightly disregarded as essential subdivisions of the poem.¹ Chambers, it is true, more conservative in this respect than other late editors, has only two breaks in the first five hundred lines, one at 194 and another at 494. Yet the breaking up of the poem into paragraphs is desirable, even though it has sometimes gone too far. Thus Holthausen has forty-four paragraphs in these first five hundred lines to Schücking's twenty-eight and Klaeber's seventeen. While there will always be some differences among editors, one may quite rightly say that Holthausen has too many paragraphs to represent logical divisions of the thought. It is interesting, too, that late editors do not hesitate to make paragraphs begin in the middle of the line. This is a proper improvement, since an Old English poet freely began his new thought with the second half-line, the Old English poetic line having no such unity of thought as the ordinary line of modern English verse. Yet here again Chambers has no such paragraph divisions in the whole poem, and Holthausen only four. Schücking, on the other hand, has twenty-eight such paragraph breaks, while the conservatism of Klaeber admits seventeen.

The closer unity in the *Beowulf* poet's expression, as I conceive it, and the importance of a more careful punctuation may be illustrated from certain typical passages not yet mentioned. For example, the speeches of Beowulf are unusually clear and unified in their content. Take that which includes the twenty-five lines 260-85. This speech has three parts: the accounting for himself and his companions in

¹ Whatever one may think of the article by Bradley, "Numbered Sections in OE Poetical MSS," *Proceedings of the British Academy* VII, 165-89, the unessential character of these sections, from any modern point of view, must be admitted. Witness especially the beginning to number only with the second section, the omission of a sec. xxx, the marking of sections in the middle of sentences as at xxv, xxix, and where no paragraph seems needed as at sec. xli. For these reasons it would seem to me far better, if the section numbers are to be preserved in the text, that they be placed in less obtrusive position at the right of the page, as by Holder, Schücking, Holthausen, than at the left as by Chambers and Klaeber.

relation to his king Hygelac and his father Ecgtheow, whom the Danes well knew (ll. 260-66); the announcement of his message to Hrothgar and its relation to the Grendel trouble (ll. 267-77a); his purpose to remedy the trouble if possible (ll. 277b-85). Now most editors make the first two lines an independent sentence, but it is surely more important to the Danes that Beowulf should emphasize his relation to his father, whom the older men among them must have remembered, than to say merely he was a Geat. Grein seems to have appreciated this since, although he puts his favorite exclamation point after line 261, he begins line 262 with a small letter, showing his belief in the more intimate connection with the preceding sentence. I would put a semicolon after *heorðgenēatas* (l. 261) and a dash at most after *hāten* (l. 263), since Ecgtheow's long life was the special reason for his being so well known.

The second part of the speech (ll. 267-77a) does not require special comment, except as I have approved Holthausen's comma after *frēan* (l. 271a) rather than the semicolon of Chambers and Klaeber. Incidentally, this short passage of at most three sentences as usually punctuated is divided into five by Schücking. The third part (ll. 277b-85) is a closely connected whole, as most editors have seen. Personally I should prefer dashes before and after 281b-82 rather than as Klaeber puts them at the end of 279 and 281.¹

The manner in which a somewhat different punctuation would improve the literary interpretation may be shown from the speech of Wulfgar (ll. 361-70). The speech consists of two parts: the announcement of the strangers (ll. 361-66a), and the urgent request that their petition be not denied, with the reasons therefor (ll. 366b-70). The first part consists of three statements, the name of the people, the name of their leader, and their request to speak with King Hrothgar. The best punctuation would indicate the close relation of these three statements by a semicolon after *lēode* (l. 362)—the punctuation of Chambers and Klaeber—another after *nemnað* (l. 364), and a period

¹ This is not the place to discuss at length the MS *edwendan* of l. 280, but I can see no reason for changing to the noun because the verb is otherwise unknown. *Beowulf* is a mine of such otherwise unknown words. According to the indications of Klaeber's glossary, there are seventy-five such words in the A and B portions alone. If this proportion holds for the whole glossary of *Beowulf*, the number of words not used elsewhere in Old English—so far as yet discovered—is fully five hundred. *Edwendan* may easily be read as an infinitive with *byssigu* (l. 281) as subject of *scolde* (l. 280), while we should thus preserve the text in another reading.

after *wrixlan* (l. 366). The second part of the speech is a vigorous plea to Hrothgar not to deny the request, because the strangers seem by their war trappings to be worthy of consideration, and at least this is especially true of their leader (ll. 247-51). This plea of Wulfgar, Hrothgar's personal representative, was broken by Grein with an exclamation point after *Hrōðgar* (l. 367), which Klaeber retains and Chambers replaces by a period. Now the separation of the plea from the strong reasons for the plea seems to me especially unfortunate. We might expect a "for" or "since" before *Hj* of 368, but the more direct union of the reason for the request with the request itself is natural and adds strength to the two. In fact, it indicates the eagerness of the trusted Wulfgar to prevent his master from refusing an interview to such important personages. I would place only a comma after *Hrōðgar* (l. 367).

The passage in lines 399-404 is an extreme example of the broken sentence structure which the *Beowulf* poet sometimes uses. The main action consists of three parts: Beowulf's prompt rising from the bench outside the door to which he and his men had been first directed (l. 327); the hastening inside the hall of those selected to accompany their leader, and the stepping forward of Beowulf to a position directly in front of King Hrothgar; Beowulf's preparation to speak. But the poet thought it important to introduce in these few lines two, perhaps three, other significant particulars, and yet in such a way as not to interfere with the rapid movement of the main action. These particulars are Beowulf's ordering of some of his men to guard the weapons left outside the door of the hall—the wise provision of a thoughtful leader; the fact that a guide—doubtless Wulfgar himself—led the men into the hall; and the splendid appearance of Beowulf's armor as he began to speak, a natural way of emphasizing in that age the importance of the man himself, as the poet had already twice done.¹

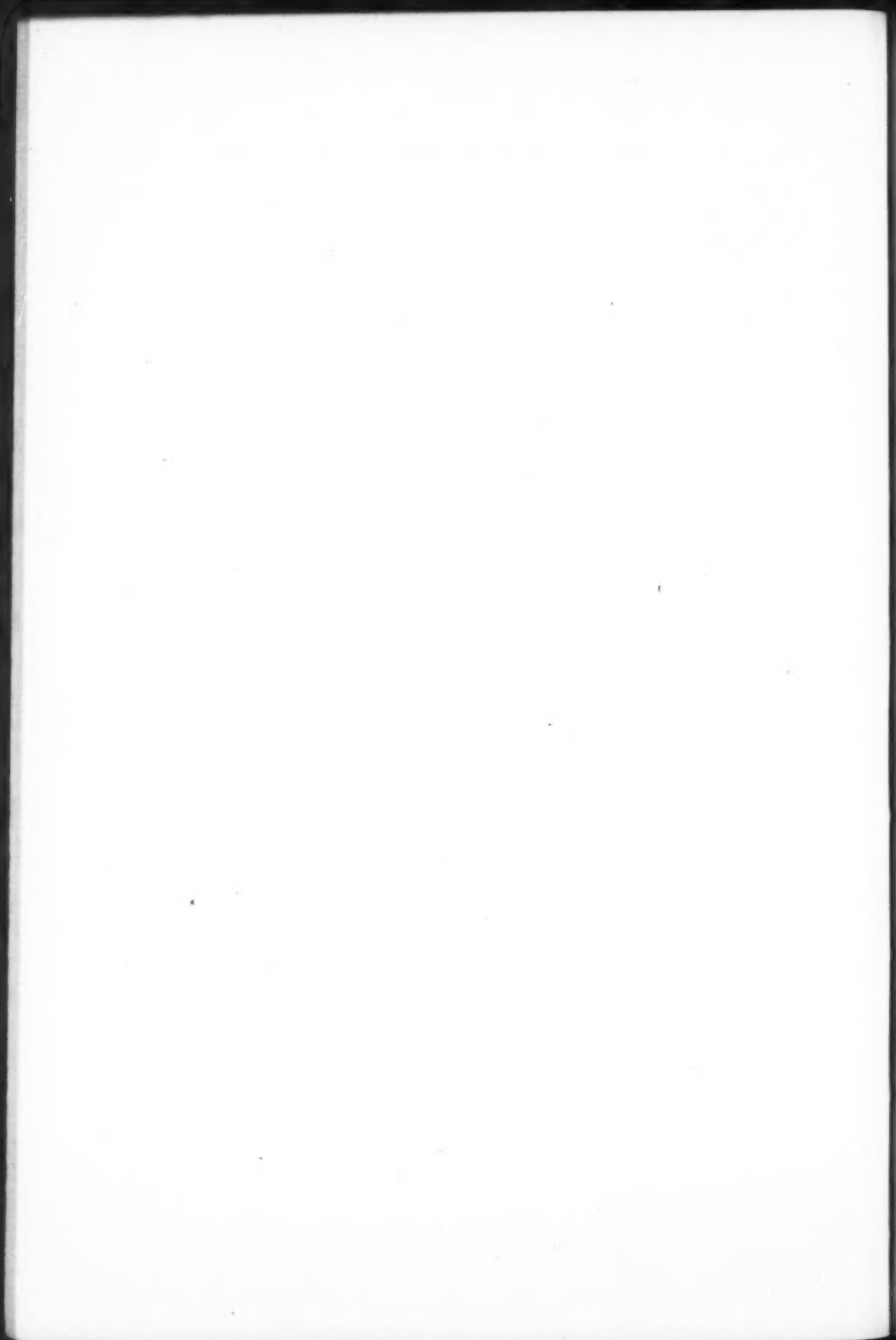
¹ See the words of the Warder of the Shore in ll. 244-51, and those of Wulfgar to the king in ll. 368-70. If the MS reading *þā secg wisode* is retained in l. 402, with the exceptional anacrusis in a D type in the second half-line, that half-line is not parenthetical but an integral part of the sentence. Holder, Schücking, and Chambers retain the *þā*, the latter with a note but with no clear expression of opinion. Klaeber's statement that such anacrusis in the second half-line was "studiously avoided" seems to me much too strong. All we certainly know is that such lines do not usually occur, as indeed they are uncommon even in the first half-line. But that is not proof of a conscious effort on the part of the poet. Negative evidence must never be assumed to be positive proof of intention.

The third of these added particulars, *on him byrne scān*, etc., has been generally treated as parenthetical—Grein, Holder, and Schücking all using the parenthesis; Chambers and Klaeber the dashes now more common in English for such parenthetical expressions. The first, *sume þær bidon . . . bebēad* (ll. 400b-401), equally parenthetical it seems to me, is so indicated only by Holder, who uses the parenthesis. The advantage of assuming the parenthetical character of this expression, and treating it as such, is that it brings more closely together the rapid actions of *arās þā se rīca* (l. 399) and *snyredon* (l. 402), actions which must have followed each other closely.

This discussion of punctuation in five hundred lines of the poem, a little less than one-sixth of the whole, will indicate, it is hoped, what might be done with the whole poem. The purpose has been to show something of the mental processes of the Beowulf poet, in order to understand his manner of expression and appreciate more fully his literary art. The newer attention to paragraph structure, to the larger units of thought, has been of distinct advantage. Similar close attention to sentence structure in the poem seems no less desirable.

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CORNEILLE'S *ANDROMÈDE* AND CALDERON'S *LAS FORTUNAS DE PERSEO*

In the face of strong opinion to the contrary,¹ recent investigations have established that Calderon's *En la Vida* is posterior to Corneille's *Héraclius*, and hence the imitation, if any, of one author by the other must have been Calderon's.² This was long thought to be impossible because of the lack of known influence of French literature on Spanish until 1678 and of Calderon's supposed ignorance of French. It has apparently occurred to no one to compare other plays of the two dramatists. Further, the assumption that Calderon was unfamiliar with French and therefore was unable to read Corneille has been accepted with greater facility than circumstances warrant. His most recent biographer does not even consider the question.³ It is the purpose of the present article to extend the inquiry farther in these two directions.

Corneille's *Andromède* was first staged in the closing days of 1649 or in February, 1650;⁴ *Las Fortunas de Perseo y Andrómeda*, by Calderon, was given in June, 1653.⁵ The interval of three years between the two dramas was sufficient for Calderon to have familiarized himself with Corneille's work either directly, if that were possible, or indirectly. But so essentially different are the two plays that imitation, if any,⁶ could only have been superficial, going no farther than the amplification of a few notes, together with the extraction of a

¹ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XIV, 702 f.; E. Martinenche, *La Comedia espagnole en France* (Paris, 1900), pp., 265 f.; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Calderón y su Teatro* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 250 f.

² E. Cotarelo, *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, IX, 640; Castillo, *Mod. Phil.*, XX, 391-401. Cf. Segall, *Corneille and the Spanish Drama*, "Col. Univ. Press" (1902), p. 140.

³ E. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, VIII, 517-62; IX, 17, 163, 311, 429, and 605. But cf. Philàrète Charles, *Études sur l'Espagne* (Paris, 1847), p. 460, "Calderón l'a traduit [i.e., Corneille]; Diamante l'a traduit." Cited by G. Huszar, *Corneille et le Théâtre Espagnol* (Paris, 1903), p. 17.

⁴ *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, (ed. M. Ch. Marty-Laveaux; Paris, 1682), V, 291 f.

⁵ E. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, IX, 623; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras de Lope de Vega* (published by the Royal Spanish Academy), VI, xlv.

⁶ "... Pero no tiene relación alguna con ella, salvo el ser las dos piezas de grande espectáculo" (Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid.*).

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phrase here and there, and this the result of a mere perusal or at least indirect knowledge of the play. Structural similarity suggests acquaintance to this extent. In order to clarify the exposition, let us see what was the classical plot from which both poets necessarily obtained their principal ideas. Danæ, daughter of King Acrisius of Argos, was imprisoned by her father in a tower that she might have no offspring. There Jupiter descended in a shower of gold, and nine months later Perseus was born to her. Mother and son were, at Acrisius' command, exposed to the fury of the sea in an open boat. They drifted to Seriphos where its king, Polidectes, in order to separate Danæ from her son and protector, sent Perseus to bring back the Gorgon's head from Africa. Perseus, with the aid of equipment divinely bestowed, accomplished the feat. On his return voyage through the air, seeing Andromeda exposed on a cliff to a voracious sea monster, he effected her rescue and returned to Greece with her as his bride.¹

The ultimate source of Calderon's plot is, of course, Ovid.² Secondary sources might be Lope's *El Perseo*, the handbooks in use at the period, e.g., *Natalis Comis*, *Ravisius Textor*, and finally, his own memory of the story. None of the innovations made by Calderon are traceable to the mythographers; Lope followed in *El Perseo* the lead of Ovid with unusual fidelity. Hence, variations from the classical version common to Corneille and Calderon concern these two alone.

The classical writers localized the exposure of Danæ either in Ethiopia or on the coast of Phoenicia near Joppa. Although the myth was well known in Sicily,³ no writer available to Calderon at least made any of the events occur there. Calderon, however, places Cepheus' court in the island, and Perseus is made to visit it before undertaking the Gorgon exploit. For this variation there is no precedent except in *Andromède*, Corneille having made the entire action of the play take place there. The change of location is awkward to the extent that neither writer states how Perseus reached Sicily, while Lope with

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, see "Perseus."

² Ovidio en las *Metamorfosis* (lib. IV, v. 610 y siguientes y lib. V hasta el verso 249) es la verdadera fuente de *El Perseo* de Lope, de *Las Fortunas de Andrómeda* de Calderón y de todas las *Andrómedas* modernas" (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, VI, xii).

³ Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, IV, 402, col. 1. Some Roman writers, however, placed the scene of Perseus' activities in various parts of Italy. E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, I (London, 1894), 5-11.

greater heed to detail mentions the ship in which he sailed to Africa. Corneille, according to his own confession,¹ converted Perseus into a wandering knight, and Calderon has made a measurable approach to the same idea. Two improbable reasons could have dictated the choice of Sicily: first, that the hero might have a convenient halting place en route for Africa; second, Calderon assumes that Venus, not Latona or primarily the Nereids, was the goddess offended by Cassiope's vanity² and Venus was worshiped at Mount Eryx in Sicily. Obviously, Calderon was not impelled by either of these reasons to break the threads of a story so familiar. In the *Examen*³ (written in 1660) accompanying *Andromède*, Corneille is at pains to justify the liberty he took and to enumerate the reasons as being: (a) the vagueness of the conventional geography, (b) Andromeda as a dark-skinned Ethiopian would not attract Perseus, (c) any point on the seacoast would suit his purpose. Although Calderon was often unjustifiably careless in the matter of geography,⁴ the coincidence here noted seems hardly due to accident.

It is possible, also, that Calderon's introduction of Venus into the plot may not have been original. Corneille previously accorded her considerable prominence in his play and wrote a chorus for fair nymphs to sing in her honor,⁵ although he does not state that she was angered by Cassiope's invidious comparison, and her rôle is not the same as in *Las Fortunas*.⁶ In themselves so unimportant, the changes here noted are in reality of the utmost significance. They cut deep into Calderon's conception of the argument and shape the plot in a vital way. In the myth proper the Medusa and Andromeda exploits are separate and unrelated incidents in Perseus' career, and did not originally belong together.⁷ Their incoherence was an obstacle in the way of successful dramatization. Lope established a faint relation by imagining that Perseus had heard while he was yet in Africa of Andromeda's beauty and impending danger; the sight of her portrait confirmed his resolution to undertake her rescue.⁸ Corneille accom-

¹ *Œuvres*, V, 300.

² *BAE*, IX, 636, 152 f.

³ *Œuvres*, V, 301-2.

⁴ *BAE*, IX, 256, n. 1.; XIV, 284, 2, n. 1.

⁵ *Œuvres*, V, 307; V, 329.

⁶ Neither by Ovid nor by Lope is Venus made a character in the plot.

⁷ E. S. Hartland, *op. cit.*, III, 158.

⁸ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, VI, 89, 2, 25 f.; VI, 94, 2, 14 f.

plished the unification at one stroke by centering the action at Cepheus' court. And Calderon, whether consciously or independently followed his example. There the hero both sees Andromeda and learns of her peril. His quickly excited love determines his voyage to Africa in order to procure the physical means, i.e., the Gorgon's head, the sword, and the sandals, with which to accomplish her deliverance. Her salvation, then, logically stands at the pinnacle of Perseus' career, the earlier scenes preparing for it and the death of Medusa herself being preliminary to it.¹ The integration, though artificial, is skilful, but the French dramatist led the way. It is not probable that an innovation so striking would have escaped the eye of a master in the classics even with the superficial observation which he may be supposed to have accorded the play. Be that as it may, the idea permeates Calderon's entire effort, determining the unity of the piece. It establishes an absolute cleavage from Ovid and, more important still, from Lope,² aligning Calderon with Corneille. The former's use of *Andromède*, even though casual, might be expected, and would be entirely natural because it abounds in spectacular effects, and Calderon was writing a play of this character for court presentation.

In another particular Calderon has drawn toward Corneille and away from Lope. According to the mythographers, Cassiope boasted of her own excellent beauty as superior to that of the nymphs and they, offended, appealed to Neptune, who sent the monster. Lope pursued distinctly his own path on this point. Cassiope is another Niobe. She declares herself equal to Latona, not in having more than two children, but in having a daughter as beautiful as Andromeda; and by Latona she is punished. Here his treatment is distinctive. In several passages³ this peculiar interpretation is insisted upon. Corneille's treatment agrees with Lope's in that Cassiope lauds, not her own beauty, but her daughter's. With him, however, as Andromeda receives the punishment, she is considered the real, though innocent, cause of its infliction. In the *Examen*⁴ he explains that consistency of

¹ BAE, IX, 638, 2; IX, 640, 3, 48 f; IX, 645, 1 f; IX, 646, 3.

² Calderon is not entirely independent of Lope. Cf. the comic scene (Lope, VI, 94, 2, 8 f.) with the same scene, in Calderon (BAE, IX, 649, 3, 37 f.).

³ "Hice consultar los dioses/Y responden en su templo/Que por tu soberbia madre, / Que se igualaba con ellos, etc." (VI, 98, 2, 17 f.); "Si de Andrómeda la madre / Tuvo aquel soberbio intento / De competir con Latona, etc." (VI, 99, 1, 40); "Porque quieren castigar / Háberseles igualado (VI, 100, 2, 16).

⁴ *Oeuvres*, V, 299.

character is thereby preserved, because the mother of a marriageable daughter would have passed the stage of radiant beauty. Calderon's treatment is again nearer Corneille's, both referring to the nymphs as the auditors of Cassiope's idle vaunt and both extolling Andromeda's beauty.¹

Furthermore, Corneille supposes Perseus to have been acquainted with Andromeda long enough before her exposure to render reasonable his interest in her.² Hence he is made to sojourn for a time at Cepheus' court. Calderon, as has been seen, agrees with Corneille in his view of this situation. In both, the killing of Medusa is subordinated to the liberation of Andromeda. And Corneille further explains³ his purpose to attribute to Perseus ample generosity in not stipulating marriage with the virgin as the price of her defense. Conditional rescue was distinctly a feature of the Ovidian myth,⁴ and consequently it was retained by Lope also.⁵ It is noticeable that in Calderon's play the offensive bargaining is absent, and on this point, too, he is at one with Corneille.

In a few detailed points in which accident might be the determining factor, not only is the argument of *Andromède* and *Las Fortunas* identical, but the language used similar as well. Corneille, possibly reminiscent of Juno's rôle in Vergil, introduces her⁶ as Phineus' abettor and protectress filled with desire to thwart the designs of the amorous Jupiter. Calderon, also, assigns her a corresponding rôle of opposition to Perseus' success, announced in somewhat the same terms as in the French play:

Fort de tant de seconds, ose, et sers mon courroux
Contre l'indigne sang de mon perfide époux.⁷

Cf.:

No sólo embotar a Mercurio y a Palas
Pero de Jove, mi adúltero esposo,
La publicidad de dorada traición.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, 321, l. 131, and 322, l. 138; cf. "Je sais vos déplaisirs / mes filles" (V, 363, l. 1028); "Pues ella sola debía / Ser de la hermosura reina. / Ofendieronse las ninfas" BAE, IX, 636, l. 58 f.).

² *Oeuvres*, V, 300.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Ut mea sit, servata mea virtute, paciscor / accipiunt legem, etc." (*Met.* IV, 703-4).

⁵ "Voy a librarle; mas dame / Palabra que serás mía" (*Obras de Lope de Vega*, VI, 105, l. 13 f.).

⁶ *Oeuvres*, V, 376, l. 1332 f.

⁷ *Andromède*, II, 1332, 1333.

⁸ BAE, IX, 642, 3, 48 f.

Lope, Corneille, and Calderon refer to the ravages of the monster inflicted on Cepheus' lands and subjects. Lope's account is a mere mention,¹ brief and unimpassioned; Corneille's, highly rhetorical and rich in detail. Calderon's argument amplifying Corneille's, viz., the scene on the water's edge, Andromeda's beauty, the mother's pride, the displeasure of the nymphs with the resulting disastrous effects reproduces at one point his language also:

Son haleine est poison, et poison ses regards;
Il ravage, il désolé et nos champs et nos villes.²

Cf.:

Con su saliva las aguas
De todo el río avenena,
Con su anhelito inficiona
Del monte plantas y yerbas."³

Finally, Corneille constructs a vivid scene of the maid's despair, when, left alone on the cliff, she sees no help at hand and no deliverer in sight. Especially does she deplore the desertion of her lover, Phineus:

Ici que je n'ai plus ni parents, ni Phinée,
Sur qui détourner mes regards.⁴

The lament and this particular feature are found in Calderon also:

¿Es posible que aquel joven
Después que ciego aventura
Mi vida y mi honor, se ausente
Sin que de mis desventuras
Sea testigo?⁵

Lope, it should be said, leaves the point unnoticed. Here similarity between the two plays ends except in broad outlines. The case for imitation is not strong, but resemblances in structure and expression with coincidences in particulars not elsewhere found constitute presumptive evidence.

The probability of indebtedness to Corneille would be increased, if it could be shown that Calderon could read the original. In the

¹ "Entre las rocas/ Del mar, un monstruo soberbio/ Apareció como sabes/ Vertiendo ardiente veneno,/ Con que la tierra y la mar / Juntas se van destruyendo" (*Obras de Lope de Vega*, VI, 98, 2, 11-16); "Y que abrasará la tierra / Con rabias, veneno y fuego,/ Si no le entregan . . ." (*ibid.*, II, 23-25).

² *Andromède*, II, 169-70.

³ *BAE*, IX, 636, 2, 31 f.

⁴ *Andromède*, II, 802 f.

⁵ *BAE*, IX, 651, 1, 6 f.

first place, it is unlikely that, granted his court connections, he could be entirely ignorant of that language. His alleged visit to Paris,¹ even if it occurred, would prove nothing and may be disregarded. The statement that he did not know French, first made by Voltaire² and repeated elsewhere,³ rests solely on the circumstance that in two *entremeses* Calderon wrote for Frenchmen a part in which Italian words largely outnumber French.⁴ The evidence, however, is very dubious. In *La Franchota*,⁵ containing one hundred and sixty lines, a character called *un Franchote* delivers fifty-six lines. Perhaps 85 per cent of his words may be understood as Spanish, 10 per cent as Italian, and 2 per cent as French. The remainder are unintelligible. In *Los Flatos*,⁶ with three hundred lines, Coqueron, supposedly French, delivers thirty, in which 5 per cent of the words are Italian, 2 per cent French, and 90 per cent or more Spanish. The distribution being such, neither is Menéndez y Pelayo's statement strictly accurate that Italian predominates in the part, nor Hartzenbusch's, that the jargon does not at all resemble French. As between French and Italian, the latter was doubtless freely used because the Spanish public understood it best of the foreign languages. It was extremely current in the stage jargon of the day. Besides, this case should be not considered alone, but in connection with the entire genus. Although it is not possible to reproduce exactly Calderon's examples,⁷ yet an examination of similar parts in the *entremeses* and plays of the period shows

¹ Segall, *op. cit.*, p. 141; BAE, XIV, 704.

² BAE, XIV, 702.

³ *Ibid.*, 662; Martinenche, *op. cit.*, p. 269; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Calderón y su Teatro*, pp. 246 f.; Castillo (*op. cit.*, p. 401) does not accept the statement nor does he examine the evidence.

⁴ "... Los franceses que introdujo en *La Franchota*, y el botillero, *Coqueron*, que figura en *Los Flatos* (francés indudablemente por su apellido), habían una jerigonza que nada se parece a la lengua francesa. . . . Calderón pues, testigos sus *entremeses*, no sabía el francés" (Hartzenbusch, BAE, XIV, 662); "Sabía malamente italiano; así es que cuando en alguno de sus *entremeses*, por ejemplo, en *la Franchota*, quiere hacer hablar en francés a ciertos personajes, pone en boca suya una jerga, donde predomina el elemento italiano; prueba indudable de que el autor no conocía la lengua que se proponía ridicularizar" (Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 247).

⁵ BAE, XIV, 640.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 642.

⁷ The following may be considered as an approach to them: "Ma soy monsieur si voules/ je port un brave capitene./ Qui vou donará un cheval, / tout asteur qui vou voudres/ argent, cuiraza, pistola, / samordio, alon, amene./ A diner à mon meson / vitemant, et tout insene" (*Nueva Bibl. de Autores Esp.*, XVIII, 364, 1, 21 f.); "Churo a Dio non pare qua estante/ a do vechie contachio semejante, / encor que en la mia vita toros viera./ Estrita se me fa cuesta escalera, etc." (XVIII, 642, 1, 11 f.).

his plan of construction to be fairly typical. In most of the *jerigonzas* written for foreigners and provincials and of course intended to be humorous, the base is Spanish. Their authors, however, did not restrict themselves absolutely to Spanish and the language parodied, but used freely others and even meaningless words which preserve the rhythm and create a linguistic *potpourri*.¹ Even Latin more or less corrupt was written for churchmen, doctors, and conjurers.² It does not necessarily follow from the circumstance that these foreign words are few or incorrect that the author did not know the corresponding language; rather the contrary is true. Calderon wrote even bad Latin for certain characters when rhyme required it or it suited his purpose to do so.³ Clever manipulation of this type of dialogue demands a certain degree of familiarity with the languages used. In *La Franchota* the statement is made in advance (*BAE*, XIV, 639, 1, 10) that the character called *un Franchote* speaks no known language. Again (I. 21) it is called *una lengua franchota*; the *canción* (640, 1, 5) sung by him is unintelligible, and finally he speaks purest Castilian. We therefore expect a medley, and no serious attempt to maintain the dialogue in French. In such a part Italian might well appear. The following passages from *La Franchota* show unmistakable French words: "monsiur de la Veleta" (*BAE* XIV, 640, 1, 27); "Porque me mata vó" (640, 1, 28); "Si soy tan bon soldat" (640, 1, 29). Noteworthy is the correct use of the preposition in: "Si yo me vach en Fransa" (639, 1, 31); and from *Los Flatos*: "Coqueron"; "chocolat" (*BAE*, XIV, 642, 1, 26); "de agua e vin" (642, 1, 33; 640, 2, 33); "Les limonatas,/ Les aguas, les guarapiñas" (643, 1, 36 and 37). In addition, there are other examples which are doubtful because it is uncertain whether to regard them as French, Italian, or Spanish, e.g., "pois" = *puis* (?) (644, 1, 6); "por nostra Xente" = *pour* (?) (639, 2, 7); "e San Xaco" = *et* (?) (639, 2, 14); "gentilhomo" = *gentilhomme* (?)

¹ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, II, 191 (Morisco); II, 549, 2, 33 f. (Portuguese); *BAE*, VII, 336, 3, 15 (Morisco); IX, 351, 3, 45 (Morisco); *N. Bibl. AE*, XVII, 223, 1, 49 f. (Ital.); XVII, 328, 1, 3, and 4 (Lat., Span., Ital.); XVIII, 565, 2, 16 f. (Portuguese).

² "Dominus maledictus quae entrabit corpor mulier, et tentabit estomagor et riflorum sacrum" (*NBAE*, XVII, 146, 2, 2 f.); "¡Jesul, que hablamos parede. / Cum, clum, cum, clum, vade a retrum" (XVIII, 620, 1, 2); "Domine doctor, mulam non hallabis,/ mientras que cien escutis non pagabis" (XVIII, 769, 2, 11).

³ "Sede apud ego" (*BAE*, XIV, 617, 1, 15); "¡te, comida est" (IX, 238, 3, 11); "... ved, que devoto flos sanctorum/ Libro de vidas, que es flos latronorum" (XIV, 627, 1, 20 and 21).

(642, 2, 33). Note, also, the following of varying significance gathered from his plays: "y ahora digo *Bonami*" (BAE, VII, 191, 2, 65); "Pues ha tanto que te sirvo/ *De parlier*, y nunca medro" (VII, 304, 2, 33); "Coquin" (VII, 350, 1 f.); "Quiero, monsiur, y rogaros" (IX, 216, 3, 12); "Monsiur de Orlens" (IX, 242, 2, 43 and 58); "Jaques" (IX, 299, 1, Sc. 8); "monsiur bugre, bon pasaje" (IX, 299, 2, 22); *alternative* (?) (IX, 176, 1, 16).

The material here listed is too slight to prove that Calderon knew French well, and it is too important to dismiss entirely. The truth may lie between the two extremes. Calderon could have put into the mouths of his personages more and better French, if it had suited his purpose. As a rule, he did not adulterate Spanish with foreign words. French, Italian, and Portuguese gallants are made to speak elegant Spanish carrying over nothing from their own tongue. Latin is sparingly introduced in citation or as a show of learning.¹ One citation in Italian is found.² Although he uses the French language but little, and bad feeling against Frenchmen prevailed in Spain during the greater part of his life, Calderon wrote plays on French subjects, introduced freely French personages, and betrayed his familiarity with French history.³ The final conclusion is that by hasty perusal, if nothing more, he could have gained some idea of Corneille's play. Indirect means, such as a translation or an interpreter, might also have been available. That several of the innovations recommended by Corneille in the *Examen* and carried out in the play were adopted by Calderon is suggestive. It is possible, therefore, that he knew *Andromède* at first hand and extracted from this show piece a few ideas for his own show piece.

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¹ BAE, IX, 155, 3, 34; XIV, 360, 1, 26; XIV, 399, 3, 59 and 60; XIV, 634, 1, 44.

² *Ibid.*, VII, 75, 2, 7 and 8.

³ *La Cisma de Inglaterra; Con Quien Vengo, Vengo; La Puente de Mantible*; cf. also IX, 3, 3, 32; IX, 297, 2, 3 and 46; XIV, 358, 2, 8.

THE COPLAS DEL PERRO DE ALBA

According to Algarobilla, in the *Entremes de los Alcaldes de Dagaño*,¹ Pedro de la Rana had committed these *coplas* to memory, "sin que letra falte"—and this accomplishment gained him the votes of Panduro and Pedro Estornudo in that memorable election. There are references to these *coplas* on the stage by Lope de Vega,² more than once by Quiñones de Benavente,³ and, in the novel, by the probable author of the *Pícara Justina*⁴ and the unknown author of *Estebanillo González*.⁵ Gonzalo Correas still knew the name of the dog's owner.⁶ In Andrés de Claramonte's *comedia* (very successful in its time), *El Valiente Negro en Flandes*,⁷ the second title of which, as Restori⁸ has pointed out, was *Perro de Alba*, the hero, Juan de Mérida, whom all had spurned as an infidel "dog," is accepted as a soldier by the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands and given his protector's name. The negro, in gratitude, declares,

Pues me dais
Segunda naturaleza,
y soy negro y alba soy,
corrido de vuestras perlas*
el perro de Alba seré
de las escuadras flamencas,⁹

and succeeds in carrying off the Duke of Orange bodily, shouting meanwhile: "¡El Perro de Alba soy! vengan Judíos!" The precise

¹ Cervantes, *Entremeses* (ed. Schevill-Bonilla; Madrid, 1918), p. 45.

² In an *entremes* of 1613. Cf. Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses*, II, 495.

³ "Entremes de los alcaldes encontrados," (Seg. parte, 1635), ap. Cotarelo, II, 664; also in the "Entremes de la Constreñida" (1657), *ibid.*, p. 768.

⁴ *La pícara Justina*, III (ed. J. Puyol; Madrid, 1912), 286, with an excellent note, containing all the foregoing references and the two following, besides a summary of the *Coplas* here reprinted under A. But No. 4088 of Gallardo, as will be shown elsewhere, is not the copy now in the Biblioteca Nacional. Schevill-Bonilla, quoting the first stanza as in Gallardo, add a further reference (Antonio de Maluenda's *Rimas*).

⁵ BAE, XXXIII, 311.

⁶ *Vocabulario de refranes*, p. 548.

⁷ Barcelona, 1638.

⁸ *Piezas de títulos de comedias* (Messina, 1903), p. 152.

⁹ BAE, XLIII, 497. The edition of Madrid, Sanz, 1745, has *ceñido* for *corrido* in the line marked with an asterisk. Restori's quotation omits the line.

meaning of some of these lines, which Restori did not succeed in ascertaining, becomes clear only after perusing the famous *coplas*. The dog was a "perro prieto," it will then be seen, and Claramonte's second title and the soldier's "soy negro y Alba" are explained.

That the dog's name was used "para motejar de Judío," as in the first example from Quifiones de Benavente, is easily understood. The quality of the *Coplas* accounts for the idiom quoted by Correas, "no lo estimo en las coplas del perro de Alba," and the comparatively remote origin of the story, necessarily before the Spanish expulsion of the Jews in 1492, gave currency, as in Benavente's second instance, to the expression, "en tiempo del insigne perro de Alba." But the phrase used by Lope, "venir por flores al perro de Alba," is not quite so obvious. Indeed, there is little doubt but that we do not yet know everything about the famous dog and we probably never shall, because printed sources are unlikely to reveal the whole of his story. Yet these sources, at least, may be saved. The oldest-known version is preserved in perhaps only one or two copies, and its peculiarities of language are not without interest. Besides, as Puyol suspected, there is at least one other form of the *Coplas*, a later one, worse if possible than the first, and this, as a matter of record, we also venture to print. The oldest form so far known is the version by Johannes de Trasmiera, printed in or before 1524 and described as follows by Ferdinand Columbus:

- (A, 1). Jo. de trasmiera pleyto de los iudios contra el perro de alua en metro castellano. I. en alua estando el alcalde. d. como lo he a muchos oydo. In fine est oratio metrica eiusdem en español. I. señora virgen maria. est in 4º, 2. col. Costó en medina del campo .3. blancas, a .23. de noviembre de .1524.¹

To my knowledge no copy of this edition has been preserved.

(A, 2).—A probably later edition of the same version in which, however, Trasmiera's *oratio metrica* was replaced by a *romance* of Encina, belonged at some time to the Biblioteca Campo-Alange, where Gallardo examined it:

Este es el Pleyto de los Judios con el Perro de Alba, y de la burla que les hizo; nuevamente trobado por el Br. Juan de Trasmiera, residente en Sala-

¹ *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus*, reproduced by A. M. Huntington, New York, 1905. Cf. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, 55.

manca; que hizo a ruego y pedimento de un Señor.—E un Romance de Juan del Encina. En 4^o.—l.g.—Pliego suelto.—Frontis (un perro y tres Judíos, en el traje que debían de usar entonces en España).¹

No copy of this edition is known to me.²

(A, 3).—What may be a still somewhat later edition is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (R. 9.495) with a title identical to that of the preceding edition, but with the word *bachiller* spelled out and no *romance*:

¶ Este es el pleyto delos judíos [larger type] / con el perro de Alua: y de la burla que les hizo. Nueuamen / te trobada [sic] por el bachiller Juan de Trasmiera residen / te en Salamanca, que hizo a ruego y pedi= / miento de vn señor. //

There follows a rectangular woodcut occupying about one-third of the page, representing a large mastiff-like dog, chained to a column with a heavy chain, and standing on his hind legs on very rocky ground. Although his long tail has a most friendly curve, he is represented as tearing at the cape of a turbaned gallant who keeps his hands folded and looks surprised and grieved. The text begins on the title-page, 4^o, two columns, black letter, eight unnumbered pages without signatures. This edition will be reproduced below under A.

There was at least one other form of *Coplas del Perro de Alba* in circulation, at any rate in the seventeenth century. Sancho Rayón or Zarco del Valle, who edited Gallardo's papers, report:

(B, 1). Coplas del Perro del [sic] Alva, en las quales se trata como los Judios le procuraron matar, y de como el Perro se libró dellos por orden de un Gato, y de la venganza que despues tomo de los Judios, y de las grandes lamentaciones que ellos hicieron. Compuestas en verso por Pedro Rodriguez, vecino de Burgos. Impressas con licencia de los Señores del Consejo Real. En Cuenca, en casa de Salvador de Viadez, año 1629. Estan tassadas á quatro maravedis. (Falto.)³

This print is not accessible to me. But there is a later edition, of which a copy⁴ has been preserved by the curiosity of Samuel Pepys,

¹ Gallardo, IV, 796. Gallardo reprints the first and last stanza, and the *Romance* of Encina.

² L. Montoto (*Personajes, personas y personillas, etc.*, I [Sevilla, 1911] 64) reports a copy of the *Pleite*, not further identified, in possession of the Duke of 't Serclaes.

³ Gallardo, IV, 203.

⁴ Cf. Gaelee, "The Spanish Books in the Library of Samuel Pepys" (Suppl. to the *Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, No. 2), 1921, No. 150.

now in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, with the classmark 1545⁽⁴⁴⁾. The full title follows:

(B, 2). COPLAS DEL PERRO DE ALVA, / EN LAS QVALES SE TRATA, COMO LOS JVDIOS / le procuraron matar, y de como el Perro se librò dellos, por orden / de vn Gato; y de la vengança que despues tomò de los Judios, y de / las grandes lamentaciones que ellos hizieron. Lleva vna letra / muy graciosa, de quando la Rana tenga pelos; con otra / letra contra las mugeres bravas, obra muy / graciosa. //

A square woodcut signed "P.P.," with a certain strange likeness to the woodcut on (A, 3), shows a mastiff, more realistic and with a short tail held low, but chained also to a column and with extended tongue as if rejoicing after having torn a piece of clothing from a fleeing person of whom only a skirt and a foot are visible. The text begins on the title-page, 4°, Roman letter, two columns, eight unnumbered pages, sigs. A, A2. Colophon: "Impresso en Seuilla, por *Iuan Cabeças*, / año de 1676. / A costa de Lucas Martin de Hermosilla, Mercader de Libros, / vendese en su casa en Calle de Genova.//" The *Coplas* occupy about five pages of the pamphlet. At the foot of the fifth page begins the *Letra graciosa de quando la Rana tenga pelo* with the lines:

Tiñe la vieja con mañas
negros los blancos cabellos ...

ending at the beginning of the seventh page with:

... con maças, y sin ançuelo;
quando la Rana tenga pelo.

This is followed by a *Letra contra las mugeres bravas*, beginning:

Quien quisiere tener plazer
dele de palos a su muger.

and ending:

... ni al marido puede ver,
dele de palos a su muger.

With the kind permission of Mr. O. F. Morshead, librarian of the Pepysian Library, the *Coplas* in this edition are here reproduced under B. Both A and B are reprinted without any changes, except occasionally in evidently mistaken punctuation, but no long eses are printed and ligatures are solved.

TEXT

A

¶ Querella de los judios.

[col. 2] EN Alua estando el alcalde
 juzgando muy retamente
 parecio infinita gente
 de judios casi en balde
 quexando de aquel ronalde 5
 el perro de Anton Gentil
 contra el qual ellos hizieron
 y querella le pusieron
 criminal que no civil.

[p. 2] ¶ Virtuoso y noble señor 10
 juez desta villa y su tierra
 nos por quitarnos de guerra
 con vn perro muy traydor
 pedimos que por rigor
 de derecho castigueys 15
 el perro del dicho Anton
 y tomada su informacion
 de sus males nos vengueys.

¶ Y si aquesto no hizieredes
 al Duque lo contaremos 20
 quantos daños padecemos
 y de vos si procediredes
 contra los que nos oyeredes
 apelamos para alla
 que castigue la malicia 25
 vuestra y nos haga justicia
 qual creemos si fara.

¶ Y porque nos remedieys
 castigando este maldito
 presentamos este escripto 30
 que adelante leereys
 porque mejor sentencieys
 al perro brauo y sañudo
 como ladron lo enforqueys
 y en la picota dexeys 35
 puesto por fi de cornudo.

[col. 2]

[p. 3]

¶ Escripto de querella.

¶ Nos los que paz desseamos
la noble aljama y caal
contra vn perro natural
desta villa nos quexamos
y a vos señor demandamos
le colgueys de la picota
porque nos muerde y destruye
nunca de nosotros buye,
y nos trae al estricota. 40

¶ Dadnos lo señor atado
o Aldoyan mose garçon,
pues que temos razon,
dalde la muerte de grado
ya estuuiera sentenciado
si en el poder nuestro fuera
porende no dilateys,
pedinos lo que quereys
presto señor muera muera. 50

¶ Lo que dixeron Abrayme
Abenaron y maestro
Ysaac jubetero.

¶ O señor juez y que pena
tenemos ambos a dos
que se va detras de nos
quando le viene la vena
aunque vaya con cadena,
nos ladra muerde este alano
que quando del escapamos
todos por cierto pensamos,
quel dio le tiene con su mano. 55 60

¶ Samuel.

¶ Este perro nos fatiga
los balandranes rasgando
nunca esta saluo ladrando
que quereys que del os diga
quando yo vo a ver mi amiga,
jura al dio que me rasguña
y me mete en turbacion,
con muy grande alteracion,
aunque le ruego no gruñia. 65 70

¶ Borox.

¶ O ninguno aya piedad
de perro tan endiablado,
no ay rabi tan ausado 75
cierto en esta vezindad
trae tanta crueldad
que espanta la vieja ley,
y aun a mi el muy esforçado,
yo bien creo que forçado, 80
auremos de yr ante el rey.

¶ El juez a los judios.

¶ Yo vuestra demanda aceto
y querella criminal
por la qual pena mortal 85
dezis se de al perro prieto
y por mi juyzio reto
le condeno por derecho
y os mando que proueyes
y que mas no le halagueys
de quanto proueyes el hecho. 90

¶ Los judios al juez.

¶ Nos consentimos en esso
y a las costas nos ponemos,
pues que justicia tenemos
para en prueua del processo
presentamos vn confesso 95
que vino deste linaje,
y a otros desta mesma seta
damos en pena perfeta
porque mas no nos vltraje.

¶ Mandamiento para prenderlo.

[col. 2]

¶ Yo el alcalde desta villa 100
mando a vos Anton gentil
que deys a nuestro alguazil
vuestro perro el del asilla.
y aunque llegueys a Seuilla
tras el, hasta lo prender 105
porque vnos judios dieron
quexa del, y me pidieron
que mandasse proveer.

¶ Prosigue.

¶ Y meteldo en la sinoga
 donde estan los acusantes 110
 con que estan muy triunfantes
 y ataldo con vna sogá
 y miralde bien si se ahoga
 hazedle biuir penado
 que yo le dare su pago 115
 y desque muerto, en vn lago
 mandare sea echado.

¶ El autor.

¶ Luego como lo prendieron
 don Uellocid lo acecho
 y dixo juro os al dio 120
 judios me lo traxeron
 y en el barzel lo metieron
 vamos todos a clamar
 que se cumpla nuestra que[xa]
 mirad que mucho se al[exa] 125
 la muerte que le [han] de[?]dar.

[p. 4]

¶ El r[?]abi le[?]s consejo
 no oluidassen la querella
 porque se auian por ella
 de ganar como aprouo 130
 y todo lo sustancio
 lo que dixo por razones
 luego todos con plazer
 empezaron a entender
 en estas tribulaciones. 135

¶ Don Salomon çapa
 tero a quexa.

¶ Oyd señor muy honrrado
 que como soy çapatero
 yo le di con el tablero
 y el auantal de vn bocado
 me dexo muy mal tratado 140
 de manera que en mi officio
 no tengo asiento sin el
 porque en su falta vn fardel
 traygo para mi officio.

¶ Don Abrayme y Bezaco el ferrero.

¶ Señor la muerte le dad
que nos a echado a perder
nunca dexa de morder
nuestros hijos con maldad
siempre anda con falsedad
es vn perro malhechor
nos muerde elnas graniallas
aunque le digamos guayas
[tan] maluado es el traydor.

145

150

¶ Que p[or] cierto estotro dia
nos mordio en medio la plaça
maldi[t]a la liebre el caça
son mordernos a porfia
porende por cortesia
lo querays bien castigar,
que si del perro fuymos
todas las calzas hinchimos
sin podernos remediar.

155

160

[col. 2]

¶ El Rabi.

¶ O cuyta tan desmedida
tan profunda para todos
que busca dozientos modos
vn perro contra mi vida
mi anima tiene metida
so la tierra con mi abuelo
el cuerpo aqeste lo tiene
para cada y quando viene
que me arrastro por el suelo.

165

170

¶ Yo Rabi Baru requiero,
a vos alcalde mandeys
que lo aforquen como vey
que merece de vn madero
pues que presume de fiero
veremos su fortaleza
o quien fuesse tan osado,
la alma le dare de grado.
si me da su fortaleza.

175

180

¶ Don Don el fisico.

¶ Estando mirando orinas
dando purgas a dolientes
y mirando inconuientes
sobre ciertas medicinas
si eran malas o eran finas
vino el gran perro detras
yo luego como le vi,
el vientre libre senti
que no tuue embargo mas. 185

[p.15]

¶ Yo no halle otro remedio
para ciertos mis parientes
no curando de simientes
para embargo y para tedio
saluo pongan este medio
que luego se soltaran
con reuerencia hablando
poco a poco deshinchando
el enoxo dexaran. 190

¶ Yuce el luengo.

¶ Guay de la ley de Moysen
que nosotros tanto honramos
que vn perro si bien miramos
della haze gran desden,
si lo enforcan dire amen
con todos los de mi casa
y la lumbre lleuare
en cuya muerte estare
hasta que este hecho brasa. 200

¶ De noche con el me sueño
y doy voces en la cama
este perro nos disfama
dandome a comer veleño,
harto lo digo a su dueño
no quiere dallo mal fin
yo a vos señor juez lo pido
que por derecho regido
castigueys este malsin. 210

215

¶ Husillo.

[col. 2]

¶ Yo Husillo digo ansi
 que pido justo castigo
 contra vn atroz enemigo
 que en mal hora conoci. 220
 yo al mundo porque sali
 y mi madre me pario
 que vn perro el dia passado
 vino a mi muy denodado
 y en las nalgas me mordio. 225

¶ El qual en el templo estando
 como a mi fijuelo vio
 leon brauo se mostro
 que estaua sabadeando,
 mi fijuelo estando orando 230
 el rabi circuncido
 luego en pies le vi poner
 y con pesimo saber
 lo que el Rabi dexo asio.

¶ Autor.

¶ Luego vino Jacotero 235
 y don Sento a le pedir
 que mandasse bien punir
 a perro tan brauo y fiero
 y lleo Ayon çapatero
 con vna sogá de cuero 240
 con que fuessen bien vengados
 y en su muerte sentenciados
 como esta en su ley y fuero.

¶ Sentencia del juez

[p. 6]

¶ Uisto y bien examinado
 vn processo criminal 245
 entre la aljama y caal
 y el perro de Alua llamado
 cuyo tenor bien mirado
 hallo deuo condenar
 el perro a pena de muerte 250
 y en vn palo rezio y fuerte
 luego lo mando enforçar.

¶ Iten mando sea quemado
 hecho poluos bien molido
 todo aquesto asi cumplido
 en su manjar sea echado
 porque comeran de grado
 cosa de tal enemigo
 y que ellos den cien cuyços
 cessando en todos officios
 trompetas lleuen consigo. 255

¶ Esto hagan luego el martes
 a las diez del dia,
 toda la gran juderia
 se diuida en sendas partes
 lleuen ay sus estandartes
 para mayor vengamiento
 y Cerrulla el çapatero
 mando sea pregonero
 por su gran merescimiento. 265 270

¶ El autor.

¶ Luego todos consintieron
 la sentencia pronunciada
 teniendola por bien dada
 y tanto plazer huieron
 que las cosas que hizieron
 eran de tanta alegria,
 que todos en gran heruor
 dauan gracias al señor
 por el bien de aqueste dia. 275

¶ El martes el sol saliendo
 todos estauan armados
 por su regla concertados
 la borrica alli teniendo
 a grandes bozes diziendo
 luego se haga justicia
 el juez como assi los vio
 que la hiziessen mando
 como tenia cobdicia. 280 285

¶ Justicia al perro.

¶ Sacaronlo de prission
 al perro con aparato 290

con pregon y grita vn rato
trayendo gran turbacion
por salir con su intencion,
y pusieron su escalera
bien en la mitad de vna mota
arrimada a la picota
hecha por nueva manera. 295

¶ El perro como se vio
de la picota colgado
con enojo muy ayrado, 300
como trompetas oyo,
toda la sogá quebro
y asio luego del primero
del qual tan rezio mordio
que encontinente murio 305
aunque era espingardero.

¶ Los judios espantados
cayeron amortecidos
vnos rotos y mordidos
otros del todo finados, 310
luego fueron enterrados
los que el perro degollo.
los que despanto murieron
en sus huessas los pusieron
y el perro en sagrado entro. 315

¶ Prosigue.

¶ Luego sin mas dilatar
los que biuos se hallaron
con el miedo que llevaron
se dieron a caminar
que no osaron mas estar, 320
en essa villa de miedo
y porque no los sintiesse
o tras dellos no se fuesse
caminaron para Ouiedo.

¶ El perro despues quedaua 325
en la villa muy potente
para siempre residente
en quanto natura daua
a los christianos amaua.
como persona discreta 330

a los judios si veyá
las carnes les comia
todo por su via rezia.

¶ Si algun judio topaua
con capa de algun christiano
tocaualo con su mano
la qual luego besaua
al judio lo arrastraua
no llegando a tal uestido,
si el christiano se vestia
con capa de juderia
luego en ella estaua asido. 335

[col. 2]

¶ Cerrulla quando caso
combido mucha compañía
el qual perro con gran saña
las orejas le comio
desto mucho se quexo
pero aprovechole poco
que como ayrado lo vio
de las narizes le asio
que lo hizo echar el moco. 345

¶ La muerte del perro.

¶ Despues de todo passado
cayo el perro en gran dolencia
y de mal de pestilencia
fue desta vida sacado
el qual fue luego tomado
por muchos hombres honrados
y en vn bulto muy labrado
fue por todos sepultado
con dos retulos dorados. 355

¶ El vno dellos dezia
aqui yaze el brauo can
que nunca comia pan
saluo hombre o muger judia.

¶ El segundo que tenia,
dezia lo que se sigue. 365

¶ Aqui esta vn brauo leon
para judios passion
cuya fama siempre viue.

¶ La tornada de los
judios.

[p. 8]

¶ Los judios desque oyeron
el perro ser ya finado
yuan con miedo doblado
que nunca bien lo creyeron
ya despues desque lo vieron
todos hizieron correr.
la alegría que trayan
y plazerres que hazian
aqui no se pueden poner.

370

375

¶ Ellos querian sacar
el perro de donde estaua
como fueron a la caua
en el bulto oyan ladrar
todos se van sin tardar
pensando los morderia
y porque de ay se quitasse
y en el bulto no ladrasse
se junto la juderia.

380

385

[col. 2]

¶ El bulto se derroco
por el juez a peticion
he aquel grande Salomon
que en Alua despues murio
porque este perro capo
a el y a dos otros fijuelos
dio quexa graue y mortal
contra el perro natural
pues le dio tan grandes duelos.

390

395

¶ Fin.

Assi el buen can fenecio
con muy gran virtud y honra
los judios con deshonrra
y vituperio dexo
todo aquesto assi passo
no penseys que fue fingido
porque es de cierto verdad
publico en esta ciudad
como a muchos lo e oydo.

400

405

¶ Fin.

B

[sig. A, p. 1]	De poco nos ha servido acusar aqueste Perro, y se tiene por gran yerro el averlo perseguido.	5
[col. 2]	Somos tenidos en poco, todos nos tienen en cuenta, y nos dizen por afrenta: Guarda el Perro, guarda el loco! De que nos sirve avisalle, que castiguen su malicia, si haze burla la Justicia? mejor nos será matalle.	10
[p. 2]	Irà de mal en peor, no cessará nuestra saña, hasta que con arte, y mafia demos fin del malhechor. Aquesto deziros quiero, nadie mis intentos tuerça, lo que no puede la fuerça, acabe nuestro dinero.	15
	Otros Perros sus amigos bravamente regalemos, bien de comer les daremos, y serán sus enemigos.	20
	Muy buen aparejo he visto, y como dize el Proverbio: Aquel que fuere sobervio, será con todos mal quisto.	25
	Temenle mucho los otros, es con ellos muy cruel, y por verse libre dél le entregarán á nosotros.	30
	Con aqueste presupuesto, dando fin à su razon, vàn a buscar ocasion para que acabe con esto.	35
	Hallan lo que desearon, y à sus amigos fieles, que eran famosos lebreles, muy hambrientos los hallaron. Dieronles bien de comer, y no mirando su yerro,	40

[col. 2]

[sig. A[2, p. 3]

dizen, que en vender el Perro
 harán todo su poder.
 Quedaronse allí escondidos, 45
 para quando el Perro venga,
 para hazer lo que convenga
 los traidores fementidos.
 Vino el Perro tan perdido
 de sueño, que no comió, 50
 y en el suelo se tendió,
 donde se quedó dormido.
 Sus pies, y manos atando,
 viendo su gozo cumplido,
 con grandissimo alarido 55
 lo llevaron arrastrando.
 En vn aposento obscuro
 aquellos Iudios malos
 le dån mas de ochenta palos
 con vn garrote muy duro. 60
 Alli le dixerõ estos
 mil palabras injuriosas,
 danle cozes muy furiosas,
 hazenle muchos denuestos.
 Y para dalle mas pena, 65
 donde llegar no pudiesse,
 y de hambre se muriesse,
 le ponen comida, y cena.
 Despidieronse burlando,
 y cada qual satisfecho, 70
 se vån en aqueste hecho
 de su traicion alabando.
 Y despues de despedidos,
 el buen perro solloçando,
 muy colorido, y ladrando, 75
 dixo con muchos gemidos:
 Oy por las desdichas mias
 se acabaron mis consuelos,
 y dan principios á mis duelos,
 y fin à mis alegrías. 80
 Amigos fueron civiles,
 que nombrarlos assi quiero,
 à quien fuerça de dinero
 trastornó sus pechos viles.
 Si vn buen Gato lo supiera, 85

que en pellejo de enemigo
 es mi regalado amigo,
 yo sè que a verme viniera.
 Apenas esto acabó,
 quando por el frontispicio, 90
 entrando por el resquicio,
 el buen gato alli llegó.
 Teniendo gran compassion
 de su amigo, y sus enojos,
 con lagrimas de sus ojos 95
 començó aquesta razon:
 Amigo no desconfies,
 no tengas miedo perezcas,
 no es justo que desfallezcas,
 sino que en mi te confies. 100
 Yo te traeré de comer,
 y hasta verte libertado
 pondré todo mi cuidado,
 como tu lo podrás ver.
 Dixo el Perro: Tal me siento, 105
 que sin duda yo me muero,
 y por esta causa quiero
 hazer luego testamento.
 No tengo mas que mandar,
 que hereden en este dia 110
 mis hijos mi valentia,
 y mi cuerpo vn muladar.
 Y dirá à mi muger,
 pues es tan hermosa, y bella,
 que no se junten con ella 115
 Perros de poco valer.
 No passes mas adelante,
 dixo el Gato, que me aflijo,
 yo se que verá tu hijo
 tu valor fuerte, y pujante. 120
 Tu saldrás de la prision,
 y estos Iudios traidores
 que te dan tantos dolores,
 llevarán su galardón.
 Conviene, pues, que si quieres 125
 salir deste afan, y mengua,
 saques vn poco la lengua,
 y que finjas que te mueres.
 Y assi podrás escaparte

[col. 2]

con la traça que yo diere, 130

y el Iudio que te viere
no procurará matarte.

Que viendo tan gran passion,
y lastima tan crecida,

te concederá la vida, 135

aunque no de compassion.

Quedate, que yo me parto,
y aunque estas hambriento aora,

estarás dentro de vn hora 140

alegre, contento, y harto.

Fuese el Gato, y los Iudios

entraron à visitalle,

y tambien à maltratalle,

para quitalle los brios.

Viendole tan maltratado, 145

y como que se moria,

cada qual mucho reía

de verle tan fatigado.

Y para que mas penasse

con su tormento importuno,

acordose que ninguno 150

al Perro de Alba matasse.

Dióle la vida la traça

que le dió el Gato su amigo,

porque qualquiera enemigo

bien le diera mate, y caça. 155

Y viendo el perro sus daños,

puesto entre sus enemigos,

se quexa de sus amigos,

pues le amparan los estraños. 160

Y en estos inconvenientes,

y fatigas en que estava,

tristemente se quexava

que le olvidan sus parientes.

Diziendo quan cierto es, 165

y el tiempo fiel testigo

mover el mal al amigo,

y al ruin el interes.

Bien se yo que tengo amigos,

ni puedo, ni los convoco, 170

porque sè que pueden poco,

por ser mas mis enemigos.

El gato por otra parte

[col. 2]

andava por los rincones, caçando muchos ratones con mañosa industria, y arte. La vida les prometia, para que con él se fuesen, y la maroma royessen, que al Perro atado tenia.	175
Buscòle para cenar con vn cuydado esquisito, no llevò assado, ni frito, porque no sabia guisar. Llevò allà su compañia, y a su amigo visitò, y con la cena le dió gran contento, y alegria.	180
No le llevò que beber, porque no tenia dineros, ni podia á taberneros su deuda satisfacer. Estava alli vna tinaja con el agua que tenia, aunque no estava muy fria, cubierta de polvo, y paja.	185
Royeron bien los ratones las sogas, y la maroma, y tal trabajo se toma con muy sanas intenciones. Comió y bebió y animoso con esfuerço, y valentia su vengança prometia al Judaismo alevoso.	190
Alli estava vn agujero donde se vefa vn pajar, y para aver de baxar el Gato saltó primero. Y porque no se hiriesse, viendo que ya el Perro baxa, se puso alli mucha paja, para que en mullido diesse.	195
Baxan tras èl los ratones, ved que fieles amigos, que aun hasta los enemigos se mueven por sinrazones. Y para que no supiesen	200
	205
	210
	215

[p. 5]

los Iudios lo que avia,
 hasta que viniesse el dia
 se acordò que se escondiessen. 220
 Alli dieron sus razones,
 como el perro les hiziesse,
 la carne el Gato comiesse,
 y su trigo los ratones.
 Dava cada qual favor, 225
 dezia el Perro animoso:
 A vn traidor vn alevoso,
 y si no dos á vn traidor.
 Que serian buenos modos,
 para quando no le hallassen, 230
 y muchos mas se juntassen,
 que pudiesen dar tras todos.
 Con esta resolucion,
 la qual nadie no repugna,
 aguardan hora oportuna, 235
 para cumplir su intencion.
 Yendo à visitar el preso
 quien cuydado del tenia,
 viendo que no parecia,
 se espantaron del suceso. 240
 Malogróseles su gozo,
 cada qual se maldezia,
 porque toda su alegria
 se avia caido en el poço.
 Acudieron muchos luego 245
 con angustia, y agonía,
 y como no parecia,
 mas acrecientan su fuego.
 Y con gran saña, y rencor
 davan gritos; que dudamos, 250
 la Gata de Mari Ramos
 ha contrahecho el traidor.
 Ha mal ayan nuestros brios,
 que para aver de acaballe,
 y estando atado matalle, 255
 huvimos de ser Judios.
 Mas si otra vez le cogemos,
 no ay para que dilatar
 el querernos del vengar,
 y al punto le mataremos. 260
 La paciencia se acabò

[col. 2]

del Perro que lo escuchava, y con vna furia brava tras ellos arremeti6.	
Alli fueron los gemidos, fuelos el perro siguiendo, y ellos salieron huyendo, dando muchos alaridos.	265
Iva el Gato por su parte, y los valientes Ratones, furiosos como Leones, imitando al fiero Marte.	270
Dava terribles bocados á los traidores malsines, que en aquellos tratos ruines los hallava mas culpados.	275
Alli fue la mofa, y risa de la gente que mirava, la turba que caminava, huyendo del Perro aprissa.	280
Veng6se bastantemente, quitando á algunos la vida desta gente fementida, aqueste Perro valiente.	
Hecho digno de memoria, bien digno de que á luz salga, y del fuerte Perro de Alva aqui se acaba la historia.	285

NOTES

REMARK.—It is somewhat surprising to find the author of the early *Coplas* evidently familiar with the peculiarities of Judeo-Spanish, so much so that his text may be used for a small contribution to the study of *Ladino*. Spanish travelers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have remarked on the affection for Spain and its literature evinced by exiled Jews in the Orient, and on the purity of their speech at that time. Antonio de Aranda¹ mentions the Spanish-speaking Jews in *Safet de Galilea*. R. Menéndez Pidal has already drawn attention to the interesting reports of Villalón and of Domingo del Toral concerning the Spanish Jews of Alexandretta, Aleppo, and Constantinople.² To these may still be added the testimony of Diego Galán, who, at the end of the sixteenth century, bore witness to the excellence of

¹ *Verdadera información de la Tierra Santa según la disposición que en este año de 1530 la vió y pasó*, Toledo, 1545. Cf. Picatoste, *Estudios sobre la grandesa y decadencia de España*, I (Madrid, 1887), 180. Aranda's book is not at present accessible to me.

² "Catálogo del romancero judío-español," *Cultura española* (1906), pp. 1052-54.

speech among the Jews of Salónica: "Hablan castellano tan fino y acendrado como en la imperial ciudad, cabeza y silla de tantos emperadores y reyes godos."¹

A, line 5. *Roncalde*. A puzzling word, unknown to the dictionaries, perhaps derived from the *refrán*: "Roncalde, que del almadraba viene." Correas explains this none too clearly, as "Vaya que les dan." Whom, "les"? If the Arabic meaning of *almadraba* is remembered, namely, "lieu où l'on frappe" (Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire*, pp. 149 f.), the *refrán* may be understood as an ironical warning to a quarrelsome person, urging him to attack someone who is adept at (returning) blows. The initial imperative may in time have come to be used as a substantive meaning, "snarler" (*roncar*). As a more or less convincing parallel, the expression "el *timebunt gentes*," meaning "a weapon" (Correas [1924], p. 567), or "un Erasme que s'era" (A. Velásquez de Velasco, *La Lena*, 1602, *Orig. de la nov.*, III, 391) might be offered. Cirot ("Recherches sur les Juifs espagnols et portugais," *Bull. hisp.*, VII [1906], 186), in a somewhat similar manner, suggests that the word *cayó* = "luck," used by the Spanish Jews of Bordeaux, may be the preterit *cayó* in some such phrase as "me cayó el gordo."

6. *Anton Gentil*. Cf. 101: *Anton gentil*. In the note on the Perro de Alba, the new, reclassified edition of Correas (p. 601) has added a comma after *Anton*.

20. The Duke of Alba, no doubt.

27. *Si fara*. On the use of *si* for *se* cf. Gil, *Romancero judeo-español* (Madrid, 1911), p. 31. The prevalence of initial *f* may be noted here: *fara*, *enforqueis* (34); *fi de cornudo* (36); *ferrero* (before 145); *fuymos* (160); *aforquen* (174); *enforcan* (203); *fijuelo* (227, 230, 393); *enforcar* (252). But *hijos* (148) and, strangely enough, *huessas* (313). Cf. Gil, p. 6; it has been noted in Constantinople by Wagner, *Beiträge zur kenntnis des judenspanischen von Konstantinopel* (Wien, 1914), §§ 25-26; in Saloniki by Lamouche, *Quelques mots sur le dialecte espagnol parlé par les Israélites de Salonique* in *Mélanges Chabaneau* (Erlangen, 1907), p. 979, and also in Uskub and Monastir by Simon, "Charakteristik des judenspanischen dialekts von Saloniki," *ZRP*, XL (1920), 675. However, the Spanish Jews of Sofia drop the *f*. Wiener, "Songs of the Spanish Jews in the Balkan Peninsula," *Mod. Phil.*, I (1903), 205, suggests that this peculiarity marks the division between two main groups; but the question is more complicated than had been supposed. Cf. Wagner, *Rev. de phil. esp.*, X, 242 f.

38. *aljama*. Cf. Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire*, s.v.

¹ *Cautisierio y trabajos* (ed. Serrano y Sanz; Madrid, 1913), p. 120. No compliment, of course, could be higher, since it has become a tradition that, as early as Alfonso el Sabio, the Spanish spoken in Toledo was the standard of excellence. Cf. Lope de Vega, *Amar sin saber a quién* (ed. Buchanan and Franzen-Swedellus; New York, 1920), ll. 206-10 and note; also Cervantes, *Rinconete y Cortadillo* (ed. Rodríguez Marín; Sevilla, 1905), p. 39, and Luna, *Diálogos familiares* (1621), Diál. XI.

38. *caal* (cf. 246). Heb. *cahal* = "congregación o lugar de reunión con fin religioso, sinagoga, iglesia" (Remiro, "Sobre algunos vocablos y frases de los judeo-españoles," *Boletín de la Real Academia española*, II [1915], 79). See also Wagner, p. 169; Simon, *Glossary*; Foulché-Delbosc, "Proverbes judéo-espagnols," *Rev. hisp.*, II (1895), 332: "Más vale el hazan que el kal entero." The word here counts for two syllables and is perhaps feminine. Cf. Cota, "Epitalamio" (*Cancionero del siglo XV*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, II, 588): " ... es un mançevo sin mal, de muy onrrado *cahal*." Evidently two syllables and masculine. Foulché-Delbosc, who first published the poem (*Rev. Hisp.*, I, 70), printed *cahal* in italics, as being a word "dont la lecture pouvait présenter quelque doute." In the "Ordenamiento formado por los procuradores de las aljamas hebreas en la Asamblea de Valladolid, 1432," first published by F. Fernández y González (*Bol. de la R. Acad. de la hist.*, VII, 145-89; 275-306; 395-414; VIII, 10-27), a document in Hebrew characters, but partly rabbinical Hebrew mixed with Spanish words, partly in Spanish interspersed with Hebrew words, *qahl* and even the plural form with the feminine ending, *qahlot*, are treated as masculine (VII, 184: *el qahl*; 182: *algun qahl*; 171: *los qahlot*) and the editor follows suit in the translated parts. There are a few instances of the feminine, with a dissyllabic spelling of the word: *las qhehilot* (*guardelas su roca y su libertador*) (VII, 289, 304); but the masculine, monosyllabic form has prevailed. Speaking of certain persecutions of the Jews in Barcelona in the end of the fourteenth century, Fr. Jaime Villanueva says: "Vivian aquí los Judíos en el barrio inmediato a la parroquia de Santiago, que se llamaba el *Call*, apellido que hoy dura, y que tenían todas las juderías de este principado, como he visto en varios documentos del siglo XIII, relativos a la policía que debía se guardar con los de aquella secta; y llamábanse en latin como suena *Callum*, *Callium*, *Callia*" (*Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, XVIII, 21). A letter from Don Jaime de Mallorca, April 4, 1305, orders that "nullus clericus intret *callum* vel domos judeorum" (*ibid.*, XXI, 165), and Villanueva reports that in Gerona, in 1418, the passage of a papal legate was made the occasion "para robar y aun destruir la Sinagoga del *Call*" (*ibid.*, XIV, 30). This form is evidently distinct from modern Catal. *call* = *callejón* < Lat. *callis* (Pujal y Serra), which is apparently not used in Valencia (cf. Escrich) and is not mentioned by Lacaballería (*Gazophylacium*, 1696). Has the existence of *call* < *callum* brought about or increased the use of Cat. *carrer* (Sp. *carrera*)? In many cities outside of Spain the Jews are still living in groups or *cales*, according to the place of their origin. Cf. Yahuda, "Contribución al estudio del judeo-español," *Rev. de filol. esp.*, II, 353, 357.

44. *buye*. Read: *fuye*.

45. *nos trae al estricota*. The only instance known to me of the form *estricota* (substantiated by the rhyme) instead of the usual *estricote*. In Salamanca *estricote* and *entricote* (Lamano, s.v.). *Al estricote* appears in connection with *andar*, *traer*, and, occasionally, *echar*, e.g., in Juan Ruiz (*Libro de*

buen amor, st. 815), Torres Naharro (*Comedia Tinellaria*, Vol. II, p. 378), Cervantes (*Pedro de Urdemalas*, I [ed. Schevill-Bonilla], 147; *Don Quijote*, II, 8), and Quevedo ("Cuento de cuentos," *BAE*, XLVIII, 411), and was held up to ridicule as outdated by Quifiones de Benavente ("Entremes de las Civilidades, ap. Cotarelo," *Entremeses*, II, 504) but still survives. The meaning here is evidently: "in confusion" or "in suspense."

47. o *Aldoyan mose garçon*. *Aldoyan* is the Arab. *aldayyan* = "judge." Talmudic Hebrew has *dayyān* (Jastrow). The judge's name is Mose Garçon. One of the earliest-known documents written in Spanish by Jews, a deed of sale dated Aguilar de Campó, 1220, was witnessed a.o. by "Garson fide Iuceph" and "Mose fide Iago Ferrero" (Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos de España*, Vol. I [1919], No. 24). Cf., also, "... muy cercano pariente/ soes de Mosse Cohen ..." ("Le débat entre Anton de Moros et Gonzalo Davila" [ed. Morel-Fatio], *Romania*, XXX [1901], 56).

48. *Temos*. Read: *tenemos*.

Before 55. *jubetero*. The *Academy* explains *jubetero* as a maker of *jubetes*, or capes of mail. But perhaps it stands for the less warlike *aljubetero*, or maker of *aljubas*, an ample, knee-high vestment, variously described as having short and narrow sleeves (*Academy*), wide sleeves (Salmerón and de Diego, *Indumentaria española* [Madrid, 1915], p. 60), or sleeves wide in the upper part and narrowed at the wrists (Dozy, *Dict. des noms des vêtements*, pp. 107 ff.).

63. *quel dió*. Accented *dió*, a retrogressive formation from the OSp. *diós* (Pidal, *Cid*, p. 166; *Manual*, § 75, 3; Blondheim, "Essai d'un vocabulaire comparatif des parlers romans des Juifs au moyen âge," *Romania*, XLIX [1923], 14). Pero Ferrus (or Ferrandes), probably the oldest contributor to the *Cancionero de Baena*, since he flourished at the death of Henry II (1379), used the form *el dió* before the earliest occurrence known so far (1410) in a "Respuesta de los rrahyes á Pero Ferrus":

El pueblo é los hasanes
Que nos aqui ayuntamos,
Con todos nostros afanes
En el Dio sienpre esperamos ...

—*Cancionero de Baena* ([Madrid, 1851], p. 334)

In the next stanza, however: "Al Dios santo de Israel." The text is not very reliable, and while it is unlikely that the first example is spurious, the second may very well have read: "Al Dio santo. ..." However, the form *Dió*, without *s*, even later was not used exclusively. Cf. Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-Spanische Chrestomathie* (Frankfurt a.M., 1896), pp. 41, 70. Kayserling, perhaps arbitrarily, writes *el Dios* or *Dios* in the collection of Jewish-Spanish proverbs included in his *Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judáica* (Strasbourg, 1890), p. 128. Some further instances of the use of (*el*) *Dió* may be given from Spanish literary sources:

- (El Rabí a la muerte)
O eloym é Dio de Abraam. ...
[Dança de la muerte," Sevilla, 1520, *ap.* Amador de los Ríos,
Hist. crit. de la lit. esp., VII, 526]
- Este Cayn atrevido
jura luego por su Dio. ...
[“Débat entre Anton de Moros, etc.,” *op. cit.*, p. 52]
- “el buen jodio, de la paja hace oro; ya no me puede faltar el Dio,
pues que de oro habló.”
[Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza*, 1522 (ed. Lara), pp. 59–60]
- “Pensóse don Simueque que me engañaba con su hija la tuerta, y por
el Dio [sic], contrecho soy de un lado.”
[Cervantes, *Novelas exemplares* II (ed. Rodríguez Marín), 196.
Correas (1924), p. 394, has a perhaps more correct form of this
refrán]

See besides: Cervantes, *La gran sultana*, I; *Los baños de Argel*, II; Velásquez de Velasco, *La Lena*, *Orig. de la nov.*, III, 422. Nuñez, *Refranes o Proverbios*, I (ed. Madrid, 1804), 100, has another *refrán*: “Amencia, quel Dio dará.” The word occurs seven times in Cota’s burlesque “Epitalamis” (after 1472, *Canc. cast. del siglo xv*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, II, 588–90).

68. *vo a ver*. The form *vo* is used in Judeo-Spanish (Gil, p. 50), but is common enough, of course, in older Spanish.

69. *jura al dio*. For *jura*, cf. Gil, pp. 36, 114.

94. *para en prueva*. Double preposition as in modern *para con ellos*, or *para entre los dos*, etc. Cf. Gil, p. 39. This particular instance is not exclusively *Ladino*. Cf. “Y aunque esto *para en* vna muger que quiere que la tengan en algo sea gran tormento ...” (Ioan Rodríguez Florián, “Comedia Florinea,” 1554, *Orig. de la nov.*, III, 218). Cf., also, Pietsch, *Spanish Grail Fragments*, II, 53 f.

101. *Anton gentil*. Cf. 6.

103. *perro el del asilla*. A misprint; read: *perro del asilla*.

109. *sinoga*. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos*, Vol. I, p. 476 (Eciija, 1396), ll. 23, 30, 33; p. 477, l. 1; Pero Ferrus, *Canc. de Baena*, p. 334 (*sygnoga*); Foulché-Delbosc, “Testament d’un juif, etc.,” *Rev. hisp.*, I, 198; “Le débat entre Anton de Moros, etc.,” *Romania*, XXX, 53 and note; Gil, s.v. “*esnoga*,” p. 107; Delicado, *Lozana Andaluza*, p. 76; Rodríguez Marín, *Dos mil quinientas voces*, Madrid, 1922. M. L. Wagner (*Rev. de filol. esp.*, X, 400) holds that the loss of the first *g* in *sinagoga* “no es, de ninguna manera, fenómeno regular,” and concludes, quoting Lang and C. Michaelis, that *sinoga* is an instance of “desdoblamiento silábico” comparable to *arrecador* (9. de Diego), *magnimidat*, or *paripático* ([sic], Lang, *Rom. Rev.*, II, 337), or, one might add, *cuidoso* (GVicente, *Obras*, II [1852], 93: *y nos dais vida cuidosa*) and perhaps Aragonese *mida* < *medida* (Borao, 83). But if the text of our quotation from *CBaena* may be trusted, it might explain the development as

sinagoga > *singoga* > *signoga* > *sinoga*, with final passage of *gn* to *g*, as in *sinificar*, *mantífico*, *dino*, etc. (Cf. Cuervo's references to Nebrija and the *Diálogo de la lengua*, Bello-Cuervo, *Notas*, p. 23, note, and, for the seventeenth century, *DQuiz.*, ed. crft. by Rodríguez Marín, I, 59f.)

122. *barzel*. Heb. *barzel* = "iron." "En comun modo de hablar, vale la carcel donde vno está con prisiones, y hierros: es nombre Hebreo, y Caldeo, de *Barcel*, ferrum." Covarrubias, *s.v.*

124. The letters and words placed in straight brackets are illegible in the edition used by me.

151. *elnas graniallas*. Read: *enlas gramallas*. Cf. *gramalla*: "vestidura larga hasta los pies, a manera de bata, de que se usó mucho en lo antiguo" (*Acad.*). Apparently often used in the plural, like It. *gramaglie* ("mourning vestments"), which the Crusca derives from Sp. *gramalla*. Cota (*op. cit.*, 590, twice) spells *gramayas*.

153, 154, 156. Cf. 124.

155. *en medio la plaça*. Omission of the preposition. Cf. Gil, p. 38.

156. *maldita la liebre el caça*. Omission of the relative, not observed by Gil. Cf. "Mis casas en las yo vivo con las joyas yo la di, lleve mi mujer" (Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, p. 198).

167. *son mordernos*. *Son* = *sino*; cf. Lucas Fernández, *Obras* (ed. Cañete), pp. 22, 36, 90, 187. From *sono*:

pongo mis pies en trabajo
sono que di un batricajo.

—TORRES NAHARRO, *Comedia Serafina, Introito*

229. *sabadeando*. On the predilection of the Spanish Jews for the suffix *-ear*, cf. Wagner, § 124. Asturian has *domenicar* (Rato, *Vocabulario*, *s.v.*).

246. Cf. 38.

259. *çuyços*. In the sixteenth century usually "infantry soldier." Cf. "Entra el Soldado, ó zoizo, ó infante" (Lucas Fernández, *op. cit.*, p. 89), or "Mas; ay! ¿qué gente es ésta? Zoyzos son, por el ánima de mi madre?" ("Auto de Naval y Abigail, ap. Rouanet," *Colección de autos*, II, 364), and

fuyme a la guerra Zuyço,
sin espada y çareguelles, ...

—*Romancero General* (Madrid, Sánchez, 1600, fol. 215 ro)

Here, however, it means evidently a member of a *suiza* or *zuiza*, i.e., "soldadesca festiva de a pie armada y vestida a semejanza de los antiguos tercios de infantería, que organizaban las justicias de los pueblos por recluta forzosa de gente de arte y oficios" (*Acad.*).

304. *aunque era espingardero*. The soldier in charge of, or armed with, an *espingarda* (small piece of ordnance or long musket). Soldiers provided with firearms, after having been the object of universal execration, became very arrogant, and later, as Branthôme observes (*Œuvres*, I [ed. Merimée

and Lacour; Paris, 1858-93], 163), were very much looked up to. The term *espingardera* seems to have had considerable force as an insult:

Espantajo de higuera,
quero seco de cazon,
paves viejo de barrera,
p ... vieja *espingardera*. ...

—Hobozco, *Cancionero* ([Sevilla, 1874], p. 33)

390. *he aquel*. Read: *de aquel*.

B, line 6. *todos nos tienen en cuenta*. It is difficult to make this agree with the preceding line. For *cuenta* some meaning related to *cuento* (*desazón*, *pendencia*, *controversia*) might be suggested.

75. *colorido*. Read: *dolorido*.

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PLAY-LISTS AND AFTERPIECES OF THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The strong tendency seen in Elizabethan drama to supply song, dance, masque, or scenes of low farce, sometimes in the text of plays, sometimes as afterpieces of the jig type or even as intermeans, gathered more and more impetus after the Restoration with each passing decade. Songs, dances, and masques multiplied in the plays. Elizabethan masterpieces like *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* were revised in order to increase the operatic element. Under the influence of foreign opera many plays became "English operas" by virtue of the large musical element. Where farcical and operatic features were not woven into the text of a play, they were often provided as independent entertainments and not infrequently published with the text. In spite of the fact that in the staging of heroic scenes the age showed a passion for elaborate machines and scenery of a kind appropriate for masque, comic and burlesque elements became dominant in song and dance. The influence of the fairs where Punch, Harlequin, Scaramouch, and droll English and Dutch types flourished in farce and dance was far-reaching. This development came to a climax in the closing years of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth. In spite of the supply of able actors and dramatic masterpieces, more and more emphasis fell on supplementary entertainments because of their appeal to the increasingly plebeian taste of London audiences. The more highly organized of these were used as afterpieces—masques, operettas, and drolls or farces. During the early part of the eighteenth century two new forms assumed unusual importance. In the ballad operas after 1728 a form was perfected combining many elements of farce, satire, and popular song suitable to the demands of the London public. Though *The Beggar's Opera* whenever performed continued to be the chief piece of the evening, most of the ballad and pastoral operas that survived the first vogue of the type became afterpieces, and many new ones were written for performance in addition to regular drama. Before the rise of ballad opera, however, pantomime—thanks to

Rich's ready discernment of popular taste—had become an important form of afterpiece, feeding the Londoner's double passion, on the one hand for masque and opera, and on the other for the dances and drolleries characteristic of the booths in the great fairs. Farcical and operatic afterpieces remained standard types in London and were perhaps the only types ordinarily shown in the provinces.¹ But in the metropolis, where the receipts of the great managers allowed the necessary expenditure, the afterpiece in most seasons took the form of pantomime oftener than any other.

The system of supplementary entertainments grew to be somewhat stereotyped in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Some special feature was advertised at the performance of practically every play. On most occasions, a dramatic afterpiece was given and, even when this included song and dance as in the case of operas and pantomimes, special interact entertainments were freely offered as additional attractions to the public. The system in fact developed to a point at which rival managers, in order to attract audiences, so overloaded an evening's bill with extras that the play was often obscured.

In 1747 an intense struggle began between Rich at the Covent Garden Theater, who had made pantomime a dominant feature of the performances on the legitimate stage, and Garrick, the new manager at the Drury Lane Theater, whose tastes and whose powers as an actor made him the chief proponent of England's great literary drama. The story of the struggle of these two managers has been told in too many forms to need retelling in its essentials. The attention of students, however, has been so fixed on the rivalry of the two houses in the matter of great actors and their chief rôles in literary masterpieces as to obscure the fact that the success of the managers turned from season to season on the entertainments and afterpieces that accompanied the plays as well as on the plays themselves. Various writers call attention to the part played by these pieces but without giving adequate details. Wilkinson in his *Memoirs* of 1790 has shown more interest in them than any student since. They are recorded from time to time by Genest in his *English Stage*, chiefly in the case of first per-

¹ See Colby in *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 645-51, for a list of afterpieces for strollers in the provincial theaters in 1741. The same material, from Add. MS 33,488, is also discussed by Colby in *N. and Q.*, XII, 454-57. Most of the titles appear in the magazine lists considered in this paper.

formances or an occasional long run, but more recent writers have given them little more than incidental notice. My purpose is to point out the value of the play-lists in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, and Martin's *Miscellaneous Correspondence*¹ as throwing light for a part of the period on the typical program of the London stage and particularly on the production of afterpieces. Though these magazine lists of performances at the two theaters have been seen by various students like Wilkinson, Genest, and Fitzgerald, little of the information they furnish has been used, and many recent writers seem never to have consulted them.

GM begins its lists with the January number for 1750, and except for a few omissions, continues them during the theatrical season through January, 1755, as follows:

- Vol. XX (1750), 44 (Jan.); 96 (Feb.); 140 (Mar.); 152 (Apr.); May omitted; 427 (Sept.); 439 (Oct.); 524 (Nov.); 571 (Dec.).
 XXI (1751), 48 (Jan.); 92 (Feb.); 141 (Mar.); 152 (Apr.); 239 (May 1-17); 431 (Sept.); 478 (Oct.); 525 (Nov.); 575 (Dec.).
 XXII (1752), 43 (Jan.); 91 (Feb.); 147 (Mar.); April and May omitted; 479 (Sept.-Oct.); 535 (Nov.); 582-83 (Dec.).
 XXIII (1753), 50-51 (Jan.); 99 (Feb.); 147 (Mar.); 201 (Apr.); 247 (May); 444 (Sept.); 493 (Oct.); 539-40 (Nov.); 589 (Dec.).
 XXIV (1754), 47 (Jan.); 94 (Feb.); March, April, May omitted; 485 (Sept. 14-Oct. 23); 532 (Oct. 24-Nov. 27); 578 (Nov. 28-Dec. 28).
 XXV (1755), 44 (Dec. 30, 1754-Jan. 31, 1755).

The following lists appear in *LM*:

- Vol. XXIII (1754), 429 (Sept.); 477 (Oct.); 525 (Nov.); 573, 605 (Dec.).
 XXIV (1755), 45 (Jan.); 93 (Feb.); 141 (Mar.); 190 (Apr.); 253 (May); 453 (Sept.); 502 (Oct.); 551 (Nov.); 595 (Dec.).

The lists in both these magazines are usually arranged in tabular form with the name of the theater at the head of the column and the dates of performances in the margin. Ordinarily the titles of afterpieces as well as plays are given.

In January, 1755, the scientist Benjamin Martin began the publication of a monthly magazine which was continued until December, 1763. For the first four years and again for the second four the pagina-

¹ The following abbreviations will be used hereafter: *GM*, *Gentleman's Magazine*; *LM*, *London Magazine*; *MC*, *Miscellaneous Correspondence*; *DL*, *Drury Lane Theater*; *CG*, *Covent Garden Theater*.

tion is continuous, but title-pages were issued for binding the magazine in four volumes, each covering two years. Those for the first two volumes are dated 1759. The title of the first volume in the British Museum reads: *Miscellaneous Correspondence, Containing a Variety of Subjects, Relative to Natural and Civil History, Geography, Mathematics, Poetry, Memoirs of monthly Occurrences, Catalogues of new Books, &c.* In the first number of 1755 Martin printed "A Register of Theatrical Entertainments" at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, using the tabular form of the other magazines, and apparently a complete monthly register of performances was attempted during the season until the end of May, 1756. For the season of 1756-57, the only list given is that for October, 1756, covering performances of plays from September 23 to October 23. The separate lists are found as follows:

- Vol. I (1755), 13-14 (Jan. 1-22); 32 (Jan. 23-Feb. 18); 49 (Feb. 20-Mar. 19); 64 (Mar. 20-Apr. 16); 83 (Apr. 17-May 14); 103 (May 15-27); 158 (Sept. 13-20, four performances at DL); 172 (Sept. 22-Oct. 25); 192 (Oct. 27-Nov. 25); 208 (Nov. 26-Dec. 25); 226 (Dec. 26-31).
 I (1756), 239 (Jan. 1-24); 256 (Jan. 25-Feb. 21); 274 (Feb. 26-Mar. 25); 288-89 (Mar. 24-Apr. 24); 306 (Apr. 26-May 25); 400 (Sept. 23-Oct. 23).

Two specimen lists are printed here from *MC* in view of the fact that this magazine is less accessible than the other two, and they are chosen from the year 1756 because *GM* and *LM* do not cover this period. An asterisk is prefixed to individual performances noted by Genest, and a dagger in the cases in which he records the fact that there were a number of performances without giving the remaining dates.

[Vol. I, p. 239; January, 1756]

DRURY LANE THEATER	COVENT GARDEN THEATER
Jan. 1. * <i>London Merchant</i> .— <i>Genii</i> .	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> .— <i>Harlequin Skeleton</i> .
2. * <i>Oroonoko</i> .—* <i>Apprentice</i> .	* <i>Love for Love</i> .— <i>Devil to pay</i> .
3. <i>Mourning Bride</i> .—Ditto.	<i>Earl of Essex</i> .— <i>Millar of Mansfield</i> .
5. <i>Much ado about nothing</i> .—Ditto.	<i>King Henry IV</i> .— <i>Lying Valet</i> .

DRURY LANE THEATER

COVENT GARDEN THEATER

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| 6. <i>King Henry VIII</i> —Ditto. | † <i>Country Lasses</i> .— <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i> . |
| 7. <i>Provoked Wife</i> —Ditto. | Ditto. |
| 8. <i>Earl of Essex</i> .—Ditto. | Ditto. |
| 9. * <i>Mourning Bride</i> —Ditto. | Ditto. |
| 10. * <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> — <i>Chaplet</i> . | Ditto. |
| 12. * <i>Fair Penitent</i> .— <i>Apprentice</i> . | † <i>A new Burletta</i> . |
| 13. * <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> .— <i>Oracle</i> . | <i>Country Lasses</i> .— <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i> . |
| 14. <i>Fair Quaker of Deal</i> .— <i>Apprentice</i> . | Ditto. |
| 15. * <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> .— <i>Miss in her Teens</i> . | * <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Contrivances</i> . |
| 16. <i>Conscious Lovers</i> .— <i>Apprentice</i> . | <i>The new Burletta</i> . |
| 17. <i>Alchymist</i> .— <i>Miss in her Teens</i> . | <i>Rival Queens</i> . |
| 19. * <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> .— <i>Miss in her Teens</i> . | Ditto. |
| 20. <i>London Merchant</i> .— <i>Apprentice</i> . | Ditto.— <i>Virgin unmasked</i> . |
| 21. † <i>Winter's Tale</i> .—† <i>Katherine and Petruchio</i> .
[Cont. on p. 240] | <i>Miser</i> .— <i>Harlequin Skeleton</i> . |
| 22. <i>Merope</i> .— <i>Englishman in Paris</i> . | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Contrivances</i> |
| 23. <i>Winter's Tale</i> .— <i>Catherine and Petruchio</i> . | <i>Country Lasses</i> .— <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i> . |
| 24. Ditto.—Ditto. | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>The Lover his own Rival</i> . |
| [Vol. I, p. 256; February, 1756] | |
| Jan. 25. <i>The Winter's Tale</i> .— <i>Catherine and Petruchio</i> . | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Damon and Phillida</i> . |
| 27. Ditto with Ditto. | <i>Constant Couple</i> .— <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i> . |
| 28. Ditto with Ditto. | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Miller of Mansfield</i> . |
| 29. Ditto with Ditto. | * <i>Provok'd Husband</i> .— <i>Cheats of Scapin</i> . |
| 30. Ditto with Ditto. | <i>Rival Queens</i> .— <i>Double Disappointment</i> . |
| 31. Ditto with Ditto. | Ditto with Ditto. |

DRURY LANE THEATER

- Feb. 2. *Merope*.—*Apprentice*.
3. *The Winter's Tale*.—*Catherine and Petruchio*.
4. *Ditto* with *Ditto*.
5. *Alchemist*.—*Miss in her Teens*.
7. *Fair Quaker of Deal*.—*Genii*.
9. *Rehearsal*.—*Devil to pay*.
10. **Zara; with the *Masque call'd Britannia*.
11. *†Tempest; with a Prologue*.
12. **King Lear*.—*Lying Valet*.
13. *Tempest, with a new Pantomime Dance, called the Garlands*.
14. **Hamlet*.—*Lethe*.
16. *Suspicious Husband*.—*Chaplet*.
17. *Every Man in his Humour*.—*Anatomist*.
18. *Tempest*.—*Garlands*.
19. *Alchymist*.—*Britannia*.
20. *Tempest*.—*Garlands*.
21. *Fair Quaker of Deal*.—*Genii*.

COVENT GARDEN THEATER

- The new Burletta*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- *Lady Jane Grey*.—**Ditto*.
- All for Love*.—*Orpheus and Eurydice*.
- *Phædra and Hippolitus*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Rival Queens*.—*Contrivances*.
- *Old Batchelor*.—**Englishman from Paris*.
- Rival Queens*.—*Virgin unmask'd*.
- Country Lasses*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Rival Queens*.—*School-Boy*.
- Merry Wives of Windsor*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Romeo and Juliet*.—*Lying Valet*.
- Conscious Lovers*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Country Lasses*.—*Orpheus and Eurydice*.
- Constant Couple*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- *Fatal Marriage*.—*Orpheus and Eurydice*.
- Beggar's Opera*.—*Englishman from Paris*.
- Rival Queens*.—*Cheats of Scapin*.¹

Taken together, the three magazines give a record extending through nearly seven years, from January, 1750, to October, 1756. For the four seasons 1750-51, 1752-53, 1754-55, and 1755-56, the

¹ MC is probably in error as to the performance of *Englishman from Paris* on February 2 at CG. Genest enters under February 3, "Lady Jane Gray, with, never acted, the Englishman returned from Paris" (IV, 466). Moreover farces were not ordinarily acted after burlettas. See Genest, IV, 456-57, 467, for the story of Foote's theft of the plot for this farce from Murphy, and Murphy's version at DL on April 3. Genest (IV, 452) also gives February 13 instead of the February 12 of MC as the date of a performance of *Lear* at DL.

record is relatively complete. Most of the performances are listed for 1751-52, about half for 1749-50, and a few for 1756-57. When checked by each other where they run parallel and by the evidence of playbills and newspapers cited by Genest and others, these magazine lists prove to be accurate on the whole, though scattering errors are found. If a play-list is at variance with other evidence, there is frequently no means of determining where the error lies. The playbills are not always a safe guide. Occasionally, on account of the illness of an actor or the lack of an audience, substitutions were made or plays were withdrawn after playbills had been issued or performances had been advertised in the newspapers.¹ Where two magazine lists are at variance, an entry of Genest will sometimes support one or the other. For 1755 a comparison of the corresponding lists in *LM* and *MC* suggests that on some occasions when no play was given, the compiler for *MC* filled in the record by repeating titles, usually of the succeeding performance.² In the spring of 1756, *MC* several times records a play as given on two successive occasions where Genest records it for the second only.³ There are relatively few errors or variations between the play-lists, however, in regard to the main feature of the program. More occur in connection with the record of afterpieces, and here Genest is not often helpful. In some of the early lists of *GM*, performances of both theaters are crowded side by side into a single column, with the obvious result that the titles of afterpieces are sometimes crowded out. For the year 1754 more than a dozen performances of afterpieces recorded in *LM* are omitted in *GM*. The two vary also in a few titles of afterpieces and in some details given in regard to special entertainments of singing and dancing. After the first two lists for 1756 quoted above from *MC*, the compiler seems to have become even more careless. Names of afterpieces are generally omitted through the next two lists, Genest supplying the missing titles

¹ See Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, IV, 135, for the frequent dismissal of plays at CG in 1747-48; Wyndham, *Annals of Covent Garden Theatre*, I, 106; II, 307-8.

² See DL, September 22, 24, 26, 29, December 25; CG, October 2, 13, December 25. Pretty certainly there were no performances on December 25.

³ See DL, March 24, 25 (first performance of a revival); May 22, 24; and CG, March 24, 25 (first performance of a revival); March 26, 27; March 31, April 1; April 2, 3; April 7, 8; May 15, 17. At times Genest may have used playbills printed for a first performance and so marked, but reissued for a second performance with a mere change of date. Yet the compiler of *MC* no doubt did record some performances that did not take place—possibly to keep his lists parallel.

in an unusual number of instances. Clearly then the estimates of performances given later as based on the play-lists of the magazines can be only approximately complete or accurate.

GM and *LM* in particular manage to give a good deal of information in addition to the regular items.¹ In the tables of *GM* the names of the actors in chief rôles and of those for whom benefits were given are often included during the seasons 1750-51 and 1752-53. At the foot of the *GM* lists, notes or quotations from other journals are added from time to time giving facts interesting in the history of the stage. At the beginning of the season 1754-55, the list was greatly expanded, an effort being made to include date of performance, title and author of play and afterpiece, names of chief actors and their rôles, and some significant facts in regard to performances. The amount of data decreases in the next two lists, however, and by the final one—for January, 1755—there is a return to the old brief tabular form.

While Genest gives more of what is significant for the drama and stage—in regard to first performances of new or revived plays, actors' rôles, etc.—the magazines both correct him and add valuable supplementary material. This is true for plays as well as afterpieces. The magazines are valuable even in regard to the vogue of Shakespeare, a matter in which Genest was particularly interested. According to *GM*, Yates played Shylock and Mrs. Clive Portia at DL on September 8, 1750, whereas Genest merely cites the performance. The number of performances of Shakespearean pieces was larger at both houses every year than Genest's statistics would show. For the season of 1750-51 at CG, Genest lists 50 performances of Shakespeare under 14 titles, and *GM*, 67 performances of the same pieces.² For 1752-53, there were

¹ There is even an occasional item in regard to other dramatic enterprises than those at the two chief theaters. See *LM*, XXIV, 398, 453, for a list of performances by "Bayes's (Mr. Theo. Cibber) new revised Company of Comedians, at the New Theatre in the Haymarket" from August 21 to September 15, 1755; *GM*, XXIV, 532 (November, 1754), for notice of Macklin's entertainment called *The British Inquisition*; *GM*, XXII, 43 (January, 1752), for a note on "a kind of farcical performance, called *The Old Woman's Oratory*, conducted by Mrs. Mary Midnight and her family; intended as a banter on *Henley's Oratory*, and a puff to the *Old Woman's Magazine*"; *GM*, XXIII, 51 (January, 1753), for a notation, "Old Woman's Oratory 30 nights in all." (See *Universal Magazine*, February, 1753 [XII, 90, 91], for an engraving of "Mrs. Midnight's Animal Comedians"—monkeys and dogs—and the accompanying description of the scenes represented, one of Harlequin, Pero, and Columbine, one of the siege of a town, etc.).

² Genest, however, gives 23 performances of *Romeo and Juliet* and *GM*, omitting December 7 and May 17 and 21, only 20. According to the entry of *GM*, there was no play on December 7. Though the playbill was issued, the play was possibly not performed

according to Genest 13 performances of Shakespearean pieces at CG, according to *GM*, 32;¹ for 1754-55, about 35 according to Genest as against more than 40 in *GM*; for 1755-56, about 25 in Genest as against twice that number in *MC*. Genest's lists, however, are more nearly complete for DL than for CG. There are also gaps in the case of other plays than Shakespeare's. According to the magazines *The Beggar's Opera*, for example, was performed more frequently at both houses during the seasons covered than the data given by Genest would indicate.

Occasionally the magazine lists give information even about the special features of song and dance so popular at the period. Wilkinson remarks on the number of notable dancers, English, French, and Italian, at the theaters between 1747 and 1755, and after mentioning Mr. Cook and Miss Hilliard as excellent dancers who added to the attractions of CG in 1748-49 (IV, 145-46), he says, "A Scotch dance was so pleasing, that it continued not only that but three or four seasons after." He mentions the pair again along with other dancers during the season of 1752-53 (IV, 173-74) and declares that the "dances were in such estimation as often to supply the want of a Farce." In a playbill printed by Wilkinson (IV, 177) the "Scot's Dance" by Cook and Miss Hilliard is announced as one of the interact performances at CG on April 30, 1753. *GM* records for 1750 that there was a Scotch dance at DL on February 1 and a "Grand Scots Ballad, Dancing" at CG on November 1 and 2, and that "Signior Fausan, the comic dancer, and his wife, and a gentleman to sing" were engaged by Garrick in the fall (XX, 96, 524, 422). The dancing of the Sabatinis at DL is noticed several times in the lists of the same magazine (XXIV, 485, 532) during the fall of 1754, as well as by Wilkinson, who speaks of two new ballads of theirs as unsuccessful, "the one called the Pandours, the other, the Italian Fishermen" (IV, 202).

on account of a poor house. Twelve consecutive performances of *Romeo and Juliet* had taken place at each of the two theaters between September 28 and October 11 "to try their strength and merit" (*GM*, XX, 427), and many were given later. Audiences had grown thin and the wits contemptuous (Genest, IV, 315-16; *GM*, XX, 471 [the famous epigram on the subject ending, "Ah! pox on both your houses"])). On December 7 and 8, when according to Genest two performances of the play were attempted at CG, *The Mourning Bride* was having a very successful run at DL with nine performances from December 3 to 15. The rivalry extended to the performance of other plays on the same date at both houses—*Beggar's Opera* on December 26 and *Tamerlane* on November 5 and 6, for example.

¹ Genest mentions the bad condition of the playbills for part of the season (IV, 374).

Again according to *GM* (XXIV, 532), Poitier of the Paris Opera House and Capdoville danced at CG on November 26, 1754.¹ At least some of the dances approached the pantomimes. "The Garlands," a dance of sixty children at DL designed for use with *The Tempest*, is called "a new Pantomime Dance" (*MC*, I, 256). A "Pigmalion dance" was performed at DL, November 2, 1750,² a "Bird Catcher's Dance" at DL, November 27, 1750, and "The Gondoliers, a dance," at CG three times in January, 1751. At theaters and public gardens, new songs had long been featured, and they are often printed in the magazines. In the play-lists studied here, the following cantatas are recorded as sung at DL by the famous singer Beard: an unnamed one on September 14, 1754; "Cymon and Iphigenia" on September 17; "School of Anacreon" on October 10, November 26, 28, and December 4.³

Some of these songs and dances must have been fairly elaborate and probably often did "supply the want of a Farce." Usually, however, as I have said, they seem to have been merely additional to the formal afterpiece. A playbill of April 30, 1753, for example, announces titles and performers for four dances at CG as well as the musical farce *The Lover his own Rival* in addition to the play of the evening.⁴ Wilkinson bears out *GM* in regard to the performance of *The Siege of Damascus* and *Apollo and Daphne* at CG on December 30, 1752, but he adds an account of dances by four famous dancers (I, 53). Later he tells how *The Tempest* as an opera was redeemed by "The Garlands" at the end of Act II as well as by the pantomime *Fortunatus* or *The Genii* (IV, 213). Sometimes two features besides the play are mentioned in the play-lists also—"The Savoyard Travellers" twice in

¹ Wilkinson, who is notoriously inaccurate about details, says that the first appearance of Poitier was on December 3 (IV, 209). In *LM* (XXIII, 525), "Italian Bagpiper" is the secondary feature recorded for November 26.

² See Wyndham, *Annals*, I, 43-44, for an account of the ballet of "Pygmalion" performed in 1734.

³ *GM* (XXIV, 532) names Beard as the singer of the "School of Anacreon" on November 26, but for November 28 has merely "singing and dancing" (p. 578). *LM* (XXIII, 477) gives the title for the four performances. It is mentioned that the cantatas were sung after Act II of the play for each occasion. For a few other references to music and dance in the lists, see *GM*, XX, 472, for a child of four playing on a flute at DL; XXIII, 539, for dancing children at DL; XXIII, 589, for three entries of dancing at CG.

⁴ Wilkinson, IV, 177. See also Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, I, 262-63, and Fitzgerald, *Garrick*, pp. 35-36, n. and 40-41, n. (also in Genest, IV, 12-13), for three bills of 1741, and Genest, IV, 142-43, for one of 1744, all announcing entertainments in addition to afterpieces.

January, 1750, in addition to the farce *Duke and no Duke*, for example, and the musical *Acis and Galatea* with the same farce in the following month, all at DL. These magazine records of special features supplementing the afterpiece represent only outstanding performances, however. In order to deal with this aspect of the London stage, a thorough study of the playbills of the period would be necessary.

The greatest value of the magazine lists lies in the data they give in regard to the afterpiece. Though Genest gathers from various sources valuable material about authors, actors, and the character of these pieces, he does not furnish the information to be gleaned from the play-lists in regard to the vogue of the afterpiece, the relative importance of the types, or the popularity of particular pieces. Above all, one fails to get from Genest a just conception of the share that the great pantomimes had in the success of one house or the other for any given season.

To judge from the play-lists, no afterpiece was performed with new plays or significant revivals, especially during the early part of a run.¹ Emphasis fell instead on the prologue and epilogue. The afterpiece seems to have been omitted also after oratorios, operas, and burlettas. Moreover, the relief element was sometimes furnished by special features belonging to certain plays. After *Romeo and Juliet* a funeral "procession," "scene," or "dirge" was presented at one theater or the other from time to time during the period of the play-lists—seven times at CG in October, 1753.² According to *LM*, a "Roman Triumph" accompanied *Coriolanus* at DL on November 13 and 15, 1754, and a "military entry" at CG on December 10, 11, 12 of the same year.³ A formal and detached afterpiece was usual, however.

During the seasons covered by the lists, both houses used a large number of farcical and operatic afterpieces. DL was perhaps more favorable to farce than CG. *The Lying Valet* was acted at DL several times each season—I do not include in any case 1756–57, for which the list covers only a month—with a total of 39 performances listed, and

¹ See also Wilkinson, IV, 206–7; Cibber, *Apology*, ed. Lowe, II, 184.

² In addition to the lists, see Wilkinson, I, 37 (the playbill for September 28, 1750); IV, 154; Genest, IV, 329.

³ See Wilkinson, IV, 201, for comment on the rivalry here; Odell, *Shakespeare from Belterton to Irving*, I, 419–28, for additional records of such features later; the *GM* lists for the performance of Dryden's *Secular Masque* after *The Pilgrim* at DL October 30, 31, and November 9, 1750, and Genest, IV, 318, for comment on it.

at CG only 15 times; *Duke and No Duke* at DL every season with a total of 45 performances, and at CG, 7 times (in the spring of 1756); *Miss in her Teens* at DL every season but one, something over 30 times all told, and about half as often at CG; *Englishman in Paris* at DL about 30 times and at CG 3 or 4 times. On the other hand, *The Miller of Mansfield* was given 32 times at CG and not half so often at DL. *The Knights, Taste*, and *Tom Thumb* appeared a few times at both houses, and several other pieces more rarely still. Some of the farces were acted at one house or the other. *Lethe*, which has three songs, was evidently a great favorite at DL with from 5 to 20 performances each season, and a total of about 80. *The Anatomist* too had a steady popularity at DL with over 60 performances listed in the six seasons. In the same way *What d'ye call it*, which had about 30 performances at CG scattered over the period, is not recorded for DL. Occasionally one of these afterpieces proved popular for a particular season. *The Cheats of Scapin* was shown only 6 times at DL, in the late spring and early fall of 1753, but in 1755 it had 16 performances at CG¹ from January 8 to May 16, and there were a number in the following season. It was usually the new pieces belonging to one house or the other which had these minor runs. Early in 1756 Garrick produced two new farces, *The Apprentice* and *Katherine and Petruchio*. According to the very incomplete lists of MC for this period, the first was acted 13 times from January 2 to the close of the season, and the second 11 times between January 21 and February 4. At the same time Rich put on *Englishman from Paris*, which had 15 performances at CG in February and March. The situation is much the same with the musical afterpieces—the operatic farces, ballad operas, and masques. Of the operatic afterpieces common to DL and CG, *The Devil to Pay* was acted at both houses each season, nearly 40 performances being recorded for DL and a few less for CG. *The Lottery* was performed a little less steadily, and *The Mock Doctor*, *The Oracle*, and *The Virgin Unmasked* several times at both houses for a few seasons at least. *The Double Disappointment* was put on 18 times at DL in 1752–53, and 12 times at CG in 1754–55 and 1755–56. Yet Genest, who describes this “musical trifle” (IV, 181–82), says that it was not acted at CG until 1759. Of the operatic pieces appearing at DL alone, the most impor-

¹ Probably Rich's pantomime version. See Wyndham, I, 12, 31.

tant are *The Chaplet* and *The Intriguing Chambermaid*, presented every season, the first for a total of over 60 performances, the second over 30. *The Shepherd's Lottery* was acted 18 times at DL in 1751-52, and a few times in the next two seasons. At CG alone, *Damon and Phillida* had a few performances every year from the season of 1750-51, and *Contrivances* and *The Lover his own Rival* proved popular from the seasons of 1751-52 and 1753-54 respectively. Of the pieces more scatteringly performed it is unnecessary to speak. These farcical and operatic afterpieces, then, were largely the common property of the two houses, and with a few exceptions were repeated from time to time through a number of seasons rather than used for a number of performances within a short period.

The case was very different with the great pantomimes. These were devised by one house or the other in definite rivalry. In expense and effort they were no mean undertakings, and if successful at all, they were expected to have long runs. At CG, the veteran Rich was of course the contriver of pantomime and the great Harlequin. Many of his pieces were old, but pantomimes could be revived with great success after a few years. The addition of a single startling scene often resulted in a long run to large audiences. During the first decade of Garrick's management a number of exceedingly gorgeous new pantomimes were produced at DL. Garrick relied chiefly on Woodward to prepare the shows and play Harlequin, and Woodward often achieved successes equal to those of Rich. The system of staging pantomimes as great Christmas performances was already in vogue, many runs beginning on the day before or the day after Christmas. A great deal has been written about pantomime,¹ and there is a general recognition of the rivalry of the two managers in this field. But the play-lists give definite data in regard to the fortunes of the two houses during the early years of Garrick's régime.

¹ Besides the account of early pantomime in Weaver, see Broadbent, *History of Pantomime*; Wyndham, *Annals of Covent Garden Theatre*, I, 3-18, 47-48, 72-74, 116-17, 123; II, 309-14; *DNB* under "Woodward"; and Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth Century English Drama: 1700-1760*, *passim*. Oswald printed contemporaneously with the staging of the pantomimes *Musick in Harlequin Ranger*, *Comic Tunes in Queen Mab*, *Comic Tunes in the Genii*, and *Comic Tunes in Fortunatus*. Song sheets appeared with the chief songs of some pantomimes, such as "Come cheer up my Lads," ("Sung by M^r Champnes in Harlequin's Invasion.") and "In Story we're told," ("A new Song Sung by M^r Beard at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden, in the character of a Recruiting Serjeant in the Reviv'd Entertainment call'd the Fair.") Contemporary accounts of some pantomimes are cited below.

The beginning of the contest is not covered in the magazines. In his first season, however—1747–48—Garrick won a great triumph over Rich. He not only secured a large group of prominent actors, partly drawn off from CG, but he had a “set of very capital dancers” and staged repeatedly a “favorite pantomime dance” called “The Savoyard Travellers.” Rich had a very dull season, without performances on many dates, and Wilkinson attributes his failure not only to lack of good actors but to the fact that he “had not any pantomime in force, but the then very stale one of Merlin’s Cave, or Harlequin Skeleton.”¹ In 1748–49 Rich strengthened his company and drew good houses with a revival of a pantomime called *Apollo and Daphne*.² A new scene added on March 2, 1749, burlesquing the Bottle Conjurer at the Haymarket also attracted attention.³ Garrick with a weakened company was less successful. His chief afterpiece seems to have been an adaptation of *The Emperor of the Moon* in which Harlequin was tossed in a blanket, to the delight of the galleries.⁴

For all or part of the seven succeeding seasons the play-lists are available. In 1749–50, at least from January, 1750, Garrick was presenting as afterpieces a repertoire of alternate farces and ballad operas with *The Chaplet* as the chief piece. His pantomime dance, “The Savoyard Travellers” also was performed a number of times. At CG Rich achieved an astonishing success with the operatic pantomime *Perseus and Andromeda*. Apparently with the exception of two nights, it ran from November 23 until February 27, and reached the remarkable total of about 80 performances in the season.⁵ Wilkinson (IV, 153) assigns to this season also Rich’s “little sketch of a pantomime called the Fair,” introducing the Turk dancing on the wire. If this is

¹ See *Memoirs*, IV, 134–35, 138–39.

² Genest (IV, 275–76) records the piece as revived for November 9, 1748, and says that it was frequently acted. Wilkinson (IV, 139), who describes it with enthusiasm, puts the revival—erroneously perhaps—in the spring of the year as an effort to retrieve the fortunes of 1747–48.

³ See Genest, IV, 280; Wilkinson, IV, 146.

⁴ Wilkinson, IV, 141. Genest (IV, 283–84) says that it was seemingly acted only three times. Another adaptation was staged as the main play at CG on December 26, 1748, but was not a success (Wilkinson, IV, 148; Genest, IV, 277).

⁵ Genest, IV, 303; Wilkinson, IV, 144–45. Genest excepts November 30 and *GM* records *The Fair* on February 7. Wilkinson describes *Perseus* but assigns its beginning to the season 1748–49. *GM* confirms Genest, however, and the pantomime would scarcely have had such a run in the second season. For 1749–50 Wilkinson declares (IV, 150) that on the whole DL bore the bell, “Rich not having any thing new, and only repeating the old plays, Lady Jane Gray excepted and the pantomime of the Fair.”

correct, the piece probably had its chief run in the early fall before *Perseus and Andromeda* was put on. Performances are recorded in the early lists of *GM* for February 7 and on six consecutive nights in March.

Having drawn several of his rival's best players into his own camp, Rich was emboldened early in the season of 1750-51 to enter into the famous contest with Garrick for supremacy in the production of *Romeo and Juliet*.¹ But in a special prologue spoken at the opening performance of the season, Garrick confessed to the importance of pantomime in the rivalry of the two houses:

Sacred to Shakespeare, was this spot design'd
To pierce the heart, and humanize the mind.
But if an empty house, the actor's curse,
Shows us our *Lears*, and *Hamlets*, lose their force;
Unwilling, we must change the nobler scene,
And, in our turn, present you *Harlequin*;
Quit poets, and set carpenters to work,
Shew gaudy scenes, or mount the vaulting *Turk*.²

Accordingly Woodward prepared *Queen Mab*, "a new entertainment in Italian grotesque characters,"³ in which he played a famous Harlequin rôle. Victor says that the piece was a reworking of a pantomime presented by Woodward in Dublin in 1748.⁴ According to Wilkinson (IV, 144), one scene in it was stolen from *Perseus*. This pantomime, which was produced on December 26, ran without intermission for more than a month, was performed 42 times before the end of the season, and remained popular during the four succeeding seasons. Meanwhile Rich was relying chiefly on the two favorites *Apollo and Daphne* and *Perseus* for 1750-51. The first was given on November 29 and for a score of scattering performances later. *Perseus* was performed about as often, and *Merlin's Cave* 11 times.

If the scale dipped toward Garrick with *Queen Mab*, it swung back toward Rich during 1751-52 with two pantomimes presenting scenes

¹ See Wilkinson, IV, 140, for the statement that the success of Barry and Mrs. Cibber as *Romeo and Juliet* at DL in 1748-49 was the basis for their going to CG in 1750.

² *GM*, XX, 422. See also *LM*, XIX, 424, 461-62, 468, 472 (Barry's Prologue at CG), 517-18 (Prologue at Bath), 518 (Epilogue at DL).

³ *GM*, XX, 571; Genest, IV, 320; Fitzgerald, *Garrick*, p. 140. In a note Fitzgerald calls attention to the famous caricature "The Theatrical Steel-yard" called forth by the success of *Queen Mab*.

⁴ *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin*, I, 132-33.

of magical transformations. *The Necromancer*¹ was put on at CG on November 11, and was performed 27 times during the season. Again on the day after Christmas, Garrick was ready with a rival, *Harlequin Ranger*, which had 20 performances in less than a month. The revised *Harlequin Sorcerer* was staged by Rich on February 11, and according to Genest (IV, 355) the playbills record its thirty-first performance on May 15. Wilkinson (IV, 169) says that it appeared "after several years' promise," and "made old Drury tremble; for any thing like the rage after that pantomime I never remember." Crowds gathered at the theater by three o'clock, and DL was filled with those who, not being able to get into CG, were in no mood according to Garrick for what they saw at his house.² Besides these new or newly revived pantomimes *Perseus* was given 18 times, *Apollo and Daphne* 17, and *Merlin's Cave* 8 times at CG; *Queen Mab* 12 times at DL during the season.

After an inauspicious opening for the season of 1752-53,³ Rich revised *The Fair*, introducing the wire dancer Maddox from Sadler's Wells and some strange animals from the Fair.⁴ It ran continuously from November 2 to December 3 and was so popular that a disturbance was created at DL during a burlesque of it.⁵ For the third time Garrick chose December 26 for his counterthrust—this year with *The Genii*, in which Woodward played Harlequin in tremendously effective scenes of enchantment. The pantomime is briefly described in *GM*,

¹ Wilkinson, IV, 168: "Mr. Rich revived that year the *Necromancer*, or *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*; the galleries liked such a dismal sight then, but I do not think it would be now tolerated." See Mountford's *Faustus*, ed. Francke, pp. xxxi-xxxv, for the rival pantomimes on *Faustus* in 1724.

² Genest, IV, 352-53. See *GM*, XXII, 52-53, for a detailed description of the pantomime, with its special songs and dances, including a hit at a song in the rival *Harlequin Ranger* and a closing entertainment of dancing. Odell (I, 440) reproduces an eighteenth-century print of a scene in *Harlequin Sorcerer*.

³ Wilkinson, IV, 173: "unless to a pantomime, or something of particular attraction, the boxes were often very thin at the early part of the season."

⁴ See *GM*, XXII, 535, 582-83; *Universal Magazine*, XI, 233-35; Victor, *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin*, I, 240-41, 248-51. Maddox also brought out pantomimes at Sadler's Wells (Victor, I, 240). After a month at CG he seems to have gone to Dublin (*GM*, XXII, 583). He was drowned with Cibber in 1758 on his way to Dublin to appear as Harlequin with wire dancing in another pantomime.

⁵ John Hill (see *DNB*) in two of his "Inspector" papers objected to the burlesque and caused a journalistic row. See the references of the preceding note and Murphy, *Gray's Inn Journal* (1756 edition), I, 7, 26-33, 40, 48, 96-100. A letter from Henry Woodward . . . to Dr. John Hill, 1752, and two letters to Woodward, purporting to be by men named Partridge and Sampson, were printed as separate pamphlets (see *Brit. Mus. Cat.* under "Henry Woodward").

XXII, 582, and fully in *Universal Magazine*, XII, 26-28. According to *The Scourge* as quoted in *GM*, it "fix'd the superiority of pantomime to Drury-lane theatre." The piece was performed without intermission through February 5, and 50 times before the close of the season. On December 28, Rich tried *Harlequin Skeleton* but the 4 scattering performances indicate a lack of success at that time. By January 13, he had ready a revised *Harlequin Sorcerer* with an added fountain scene, "the machinery of which," says Wilkinson (IV, 174), "I think surpassed any pantomime quirk I remember." It ran until February 20, and was performed 45 times before the season ended. Among the other pantomimes, *Necromancer*, *Apollo and Daphne*, *Perseus*, *Merlin's Cave*, and a *Harlequin Statue* had from 10 to 2 performances at CG; *Queen Mab* and *Harlequin Ranger* about a dozen each at DL. Of a *Harlequin Enchanter* given on April 25 at DL, nothing more is heard under that title.

Harlequin Sorcerer, with 34 performances for the season of 1753-54, continued the chief attraction at CG through the autumn of 1753. On October 9 *Harlequin Ranger* reappeared at DL. Murphy in *Gray's-Inn Journal* states that "this piece was now acted as originally written," and proceeds to attack Garrick for being "the first to introduce Pantomime Entertainments," with the false idea that "the taste of the town" must be gratified with "such *Smithfield* exhibitions."¹ This pantomime, indeed, failed with Garrick's audience and was acted only four times. On Christmas Eve he brought out another pantomime, *Fortunatus*,² which proved successful. It was performed 27 times before the end of February and occasionally in succeeding seasons. At DL there were also 8 performances of *The Genii* and 6 of *Queen Mab* during the season; at CG, 13 of *Harlequin Skeleton*. But Wilkinson comments on the beginnings of Italian burletta at CG during this season and its success, especially in the case of *Gli Amanti Gelosi*.³

¹ According to the quotation in *GM*, XXIII, 493. The passage is not in the 1756 reprint of the *Journal*.

² See Murphy, *Gray's-Inn Journal* (1756), II, 72, 129, 157-59, for a number of satiric passages that indicate the nature of the plot. Murphy made a number of other mocking allusions to the pantomimes and animal performances of 1752-53 and 1753-54 (see I, 82-83, 90, 104, 158-59, 173-74, 217, and II, 12, 25) and wrote three essays on the pantomime craze of the period (I, 289-93, and II, 118-22, 155-59). He often expressed his contempt for the taste of audiences that preferred such entertainments to Shakespeare.

³ IV, 199-200. In the next two seasons, however, he speaks of the failure of burlettas (pp. 208, 221).

In the fall of 1754 Garrick and Rich tried out favorite pantomimes, operettas, and farces, and special features like the interact cantatas or the processions already mentioned for rival performances of *Coriolanus*. At DL the Sabatinis performed new dances¹ for a time, Garrick's *Fairies*—an "English Opera" based on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—had some success,² oratorios were performed in the spring, and the masque *Britannia* appeared near the end of the season—May 9. At CG Italian burlettas were continued, and oratorios, according to an old custom, were produced.³ On January 4, however, Garrick staged a new pantomime, *Proteus, or Harlequin in China*,⁴ which achieved 33 performances in the season. Before the end of the month—on January 29—Rich put on the revised pantomimic opera *Orpheus and Eurydice*,⁵ which was performed 31 times this season. Of the other pantomimes there were from 7 to 9 performances of *Fortunatus*, *Genii*, and *Queen Mab* at DL; 16 of *Harlequin Skeleton* and 10 of *Harlequin Sorcerer* at CG.

On account of national feeling Garrick failed with his elaborate pantomime *The Chinese Festival* in the fall of 1755.⁶ It was withdrawn after 6 performances, and *The Genii* became again the favorite of a season, with 21 performances according to MC. *Fortunatus* appeared a number of times, and in May a *Harlequin Mountebank* twice. The special pantomimic dance "The Garlands" was produced in connection with *The Tempest*. Rich tried no new pantomime. Of the old ones, *Harlequin Skeleton* with 24 performances all told was the favorite for the early part of the season, and *Orpheus* was performed 17 times from January on. Apparently new pieces of a farcical type succeeded best this season. Garrick's *Katherine and Petruchio* and Murphy's *Ap-*

¹ Wilkinson, IV, 202, gives some material additional to the play-lists.

² Genest, IV, 407; Wilkinson, IV, 202.

³ See Wyndham, *passim*, for oratorios at CG and Handel's long association with Rich.

⁴ Wilkinson (IV, 202) says that "Mercury Harlequin was the new pantomime that season." The name does not occur in the play-lists. On p. 224 he mentions *Proteus* as the pantomime of 1756-57 at DL. The account of Woodward in the *DNB* states that *Mercury Harlequin* was performed at DL in 1756. Wilkinson evidently reversed the years of the performance of the two pieces at DL.

⁵ See Broadbent, *History of Pantomime*, pp. 158-60, for the piece; *Scots Magazine*, II, 113; Wilkinson, IV, 209 (representing it as having a very limited success).

⁶ See Genest, IV, 443-44; Wilkinson, IV, 214-16; Victor, II, 131-35.

prentice at DL, and Foote's *Englishman from Paris* at CG, all produced in the spring of 1756, have been mentioned already. Though pantomime remained popular for a hundred years, it is possible that for the moment there was a slight waning of its great vogue.¹

The magazine lists thus show more clearly than any other material available to the average student what appealed to the theatrical audience of the mid-eighteenth century. They give definite details that seem to justify Theophilus Cibber's complaint as to the state of the stage in his *Two Dissertations on the Theatres* of 1756 (pp. 26-27). "Have we not had," he asks, "a greater Number of those unmeaning Fopperies, miscalled Entertainments, than ever was known to disgrace the Stage in so few Years? Has not every Year produc'd one of those patch-work Pantomimes? These Masquing Mummeries, replete with Ribaldry, Buffoonery, and Nonsense; . . . these Interludes stol'n from the stale Night-Scenes of *Sadler's Wells* and *Bartholomew-Fair*?" In spite of the increasing popularity of Shakespeare's plays and of other dramatic masterpieces, a manager's success evidently depended largely on his offering of additional entertainments. Among these the elaborate pantomimes with their songs, dances, droll characters, and strange scenes combining elements of farce, opera, and masque reigned supreme. Less formal pantomimic dances as well as farces with pantomimic features supplemented them. Garrick, professedly the protagonist of literary drama, was constrained to resort to pantomime, and he also continued the adaptations of Shakespeare's plays in forms in which kindred features—song, dance, and spectacular scenery—were outstanding elements. Cibber indeed accuses Garrick not only of adapting Shakespearean drama in a spirit contrary to his expressed devotion to the master, but of perverting public taste and debauching the stage by means of his pantomimes. But Garrick was doubtless expressing his own attitude when he brought out in 1759 *Harlequin's Invasion*—"A Christmas Gambol" in which the characters speak—depicting "a supposed Invasion made by *Harlequin* and his Train upon the Frontiers and Domains of *Shakespeare*" with

¹ Wilkinson (IV, 240) speaks, however, of Rich's success in the following season with *The Raps of Proserpine*—possibly *Harlequin Sorcerer, or, The Loves of Pluto and Proserpine* according to the title of 1725—and *Mercury Harlequin* at DL has been mentioned.

"the Defeat of *Harlequin*, and the Restoration of K. *Shakespeare*."¹ Popular audiences, however, remained loyal to Harlequin. In 1761 the audience at DL would not allow Murphy and Foote to hang Harlequin in *The Wishes, or Harlequin's Mouth Opened*² in order "from Pantomime to free the stage," and the death of Rich in the same year scarcely affected the career of pantomime, which he had upheld so long.

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¹ See Baker, *Companion to the Play-House* (1764), Vol. 1. Genest (IV, 580) calls attention to the resemblance of this to *Harlequin Student, or the Fall of Pantomime* acted at Goodman's Fields, March 2, 1741 (Genest, III, 641). See also 3 *N. and Q.*, X, 465-66, for the satire *Dido and Aeneas; or Harlequin, &c.* of 1727, in which it is proposed to banish Shakespeare and other great writers together with the chief actors and to promote singing and dancing. In the struggle against popular taste through the century Shakespeare's name was often placed in opposition to the names of the heroes of pantomime, as in Rowe's Epilogue to *The Ambitious Stepmother*, 1701 (see Cibber's *Apology*, ed. Lowe, I, 317) and Johnson's Prologue for DL in 1747. Pope does not mention Shakespeare, however, in his notable attack in the third book of *The Dunciad*.

² Genest, IV, 617-19.

THE BORDERERS AS A DOCUMENT IN THE HISTORY
OF WORDSWORTH'S AESTHETIC
DEVELOPMENT

In a previous article,¹ through a study of "The Female Vagrant" and "Guilt and Sorrow," we have attempted to discover some of the origins of Wordsworth's artistic impulses and practices. In these poems, we have shown him to be working in two of the aesthetic modes widely current during the years of his youth, that of terror and that of sentimental morality. They served as a fairly adequate expression of the emotions aroused by Godwin's radical ideas. Intruding upon these feelings, however, was a profound remorse evoked by his conduct toward Annette Vallon. He tried to suppress this emotion, but it escaped from his control and found furtive expression in this work. The poem written when the author's personality was thus disorganized was correspondingly confused in aesthetic effect.

When Wordsworth composed *The Borderers*, these same contradictory forces were at work. They appear in this poem, however, in a different relationship, and through their mutual interaction they reveal to Wordsworth the course of his subsequent aesthetic development. In other words, this play throws light upon the extraordinary transformation which took place in Wordsworth's aesthetic principles during the obscure years from 1793 to 1797. This change is the most important in his career. It carried him from the philosophy of William Godwin, and its artistic expression through the modes of terror and sentimental morality, to his own original conceptions of 1798. Critics have almost universally regarded this change as abrupt. The pessimistic and nihilistic implications of Godwin's rationalism, they say, suddenly became clear to the poet. Then he turned from the system in horror and, with the encouragement of Dorothy and the aid of Coleridge, built up an entirely new universe, which bears no ascertainable relationship to the older one. Garrod, for example, says that Wordsworth receded from Godwin "not by logical process or gradations but

¹ *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1926), 293-306.

suddenly—by the unpredictable melting of a proud and prodigal temperament."¹

√ This spasmodic view of Wordsworth's development we reject. We believe that a proper interpretation of *The Borderers* has yielded a key to an understanding of this crucial transition in the poet's career. We believe that this drama offers clear evidence that its initial aesthetic impulse was the remorse that his abandonment of Annette — had aroused in him. We believe that he endeavored to cleanse his mind from that paralyzing emotion by adopting the rational doctrines of Godwin, in the hope that they would emancipate his will from the control of his feelings. These theories failed him completely. The remorse persisted. He began to see, therefore, that the natural ties and fundamental relations from which he had attempted to escape were more fundamental than the Godwinian rationalism to which he fled. They, therefore, became the facts upon which his new aesthetic was built. In other words, we shall show that Wordsworth's mature artistic practice, in most of its details, is the result of a clash between Godwin's philosophy and his own bitter and searching personal experience.

√ The play is the story of the intellectual and moral seduction of an innately noble man, Marmaduke. He possesses the essential human sensibility. Compassion is his ruling motive for action. Even his powerful love for Idonea is the firstborn child of his pity.² He has become the leader of a band of outlaws, largely, it appears, because he can thus most freely indulge his ardor for benevolence. He has successfully transformed his men into "ministers of peace and order." Even Oswald admits that

Aged men with tears
Have blessed their steps, the fatherless retire
For shelter to their banners.³

¹ H. W. Garrod, *Wordsworth: Lectures and Essays* (Oxford, 1923), p. 104.

² He gives the following account of the inception of his love for her:

" 'Twas my delight to sit and hear Idonea
Repeat her Father's terrible adventures,
Till all the band of playmates wept together;
And that was the beginning of my love."

This is easily recognized as a sentimental version of Desdemona's story of Othello's manner of winning her love.

³ II, ll. 62-64. The influence of Schiller's *Die Räuber* at this point is probable. Cf. Max J. Herzberg, "William Wordsworth and German Literature," *PMLA*, XL (1925), 338; also Coleridge's letter to Cottle in 1797 in Cottle's *Early Recollections*, II, 25.

Into the band of outlaws directed by this energetic philanthropist, comes the sinister Oswald. He has adopted a philosophy of life diametrically opposed to that of Marmaduke. Complete indifference to all human feelings—particularly to compassion—has become his master-bias. Reason presides in his mind in their stead. It has been enthroned because it has shown him how to escape from remorse for sin to a moral eminence beyond good and evil. To that height he forthwith seeks to conduct Marmaduke. He first tries to break down in his pupil's mind the authority of sentimental morality. Misery, he avers, is not sacred but degrading. Pity comes only through the seduction of reason by the "wiles of women" and "the craft of age." Then with singular literal-mindedness, he tries to bring about Marmaduke's moral emancipation by forcing him to pass through the same valley of remorse that he has trod. Since he had attained the remorse through which his emancipation came by realizing that he had murdered an innocent man, with pitiless logic he arranges to make Marmaduke commit a similar crime. He craftily composes a situation in which Marmaduke's old morality of compassion would naturally function most powerfully. By showing that this sacred feeling of his has duped him, Oswald will break down the authority which pity exercises in Marmaduke's mind. Then he can substitute for it his sort of mechanically rational justice. "Justice" he argues,

Admitting no resistance, binds alike
The feeble and the strong. She needs not here
Her bonds and chains, which make the mighty feeble.¹

To carry out this program, Oswald puts into Marmaduke's power Herbert, a helpless, blind old man, the noble and pathetic father of Idonea, the girl whom the chief adores. He then makes Marmaduke believe that this pitiful old man has committed an unspeakable series of crimes. He has been basely false to the most precious of natural affections. He has stolen Idonea and deceived her from infancy into believing him her father. Now he is planning to sell the girl to the old lecher, Clifford. The apparent proofs of these facts are so artfully supplied that Marmaduke himself believes that he has "seen the guilt," has "touched it," has "felt it at his heart." He is ready to act as Oswald designs. He conceives it to be an act of that justice

¹ II, ll. 538-41.

which weighs "the giant and the worm" "in one scale," to compass this false father's death.

Oswald accompanies his plotting with a running commentary on the new morality. Justice demands allegiance to a higher force than compassion. She shows no pity to the feeble. Justice is rather the application of personal impulse to immediate facts. Life itself formulates moral laws. Rule for conduct must be discovered by individuals,

By diving for it into their own bosoms.

Oswald, it is clear, seeks to drive from Marmaduke's mind social sympathies and reminiscent emotion as motives to conduct and to substitute sanctions which the individual is to derive from his immediate reaction to whatever conditions confront him. The moral law is

The immediate law
From the clear light of circumstances flashed
Upon an independent intellect.¹

This truth Oswald has learned from the liberation which he has gained by committing a murder. This deed has brought him the realization that

. . . every shape of action
Might lead to good.

This new ethical view had liberated in him a new spring of energy. He mounted

From action up to action with a mind
That never rested.

Man thus derives a sense of progressive living which gives him a joyous consciousness of life. Remorse cannot live in a mind thus straining toward the future.

What! in this Universe
Where the least things control the greatest, where
The faintest breath that breathes can move a world;
What! feel remorse, where if a cat had sneezed,
A leaf had fallen, the thing had never been
Whose very shadow gnaws us to the vitals.²

This is necessitarian doctrine; its implications are that moral laws serve only to reduce the individual to slavery. Only by realizing that we act in a world of unique particulars in which memory is an intru-

¹ III, ll. 360-62.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 428-33.

sion can our human empire be enlarged. Life, therefore, becomes a mere forward movement in which the past of the individual, in both action and feeling, is an unmixed evil. The only emotion still regarded as healthy is a joyous sense of progressive living. This is the way indicated by Oswald out of deadening remorse for a deed done.

Marmaduke at first seems thoroughly persuaded of the truth of this philosophy. He announces with appropriate bravado his conversion to the necessity of subjugating natural feeling to the rule of reason.

Now for the corner stone of my philosophy
I would not give a denier for that man
Who on such provocation as this earth
Yields, could not chuck his babe beneath his chin
And send it with a fillip to its grave.¹

Thus resolved, he takes Herbert out upon the moor to dispatch him, but "pity crossed the path of his resolve" and weakened his will. Instead of slaying the old man outright, he leaves him to die alone, in the storm. Oswald then tells him of his crime, which becomes a horror to Marmaduke only when he learns that the victim was innocent. When to this revelation is added the confession of the beggar-woman that she had lied to him, he becomes distracted. He revolts against the entire philosophy of Oswald—against his exaltation of reason divorced from all facts except its results in individual emancipation. His natural compassion reasserts itself with double force. He clings to remorse. The deep spiritual anguish that it brings becomes the penance wherein his salvation and his peace must lie. Suffering again seems to him the only authoritative moral agent. Action again becomes transitory and essentially superficial. He confesses to Oswald that there is no course of action from which he would shrink.

But to endure
That is my destiny. May it be thine;
Thy office, thy ambition, be henceforth
To feed remorse, to welcome every sting
Of penitential anguish, yea with tears.²

He bids farewell to his band, telling them that he has condemned himself to be a solitary wanderer over the face of the earth:

¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 106-10.

² *V*, ll. 285-88.

But over waste and wild,
 In search of nothing that this earth can give,
 But expiation, will I wander on—
 A man by pain and thought compelled to live,
 Yet loathing life—till anger is appeased
 In Heaven, and Mercy gives me leave to die.¹

† *The Borderers* is usually recognized as in some sense a product of Godwin's ideas. †M. Legouis' view, the one most widely held, is that this poem represents Wordsworth's first recoil from the doctrines of Godwin.² Oswald, the villain, derives from this philosophy all of his maxims of judicious conduct. Yet the philosophical murderer, according to M. Legouis, is only half-sincere in his beliefs. He craves a companion in crime. Marmaduke, the open-hearted, is a particularly easy prey for the wiles of such a specious realist. Once thoroughly involved, he sees no issue into moral light. He knows only how to curse Oswald and to grope in black ignorance and confusion. †Wordsworth, like Marmaduke, at this time, knew no answer to this cynical philosophy. The play, therefore, ends in pessimism and despair. Yet even at that moment, he was on the brink of recovery. †He completely purged himself of pessimism by writing this play. By so doing, he definitely rejected Godwin's moral nihilism. His experience with it, however, had been only negative and had merely served to show him the inadequacy of a system of reason which led to necessitarianism.

†Garrod³ takes direct issue with this view of M. Legouis. He believes that *The Borderers* reveals Wordsworth as a loyal adherent to the doctrines of Godwin. Oswald is not a villain. "In so far, in any case, as the villain talks Godwinism," says Mr. Garrod, "he is not a villain, but a good man." †The disaster in *The Borderers* is due to the failure of both villain and hero to be complete Godwinians. Neither of them followed reason completely; "neither asked for proof at the time of his trial. The whole of Godwinism is a cry for proof. He who does not wait for proof is the creature of impulse." †The tragedy is thus due to a partial acceptance of a system which had to be adopted in its entirety.

† These distinguished critics agree in finding autobiographical significance in the drama. This is natural and warranted. All of Words-

¹ *Ibid.*, II. 330-35.

² *The Early Life of William Wordsworth*, pp. 276 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

On Jettison
 the whole of
 the play

worth's poetry is rightly to be regarded as thinly disguised expression of his personal experience. Even his most loyal admirers have remarked his lack of dramatic power—what Coleridge called his "dramatic ventriloquism."✓The error of both Legouis and Garrod, as we conceive it, is that they have somewhat perverted the essential meaning of the play in their search for autobiographical significance. The truth about Wordsworth's mind which this work yields we believe to be more important than his realization of the danger lurking in the partial acceptance of a coherent radical philosophy and even more vital than his horrified rejection of the entire system. A fresh examination of the situation of both Oswald and Marmaduke will reveal these significant new facts.

✓In a sense, Garrod is right in asserting that Oswald is not a thoroughgoing Godwinian. This fact is evident particularly in the villain's various soliloquies. In them, he reveals the powerful conflict between reason and passion that is going on in his mind. When he broods alone on a desolate moor, he talks as follows:

Methinks

It were a pleasant pastime to construct
A scale and table of belief—as thus—
Two columns, one for passion, one for proof;
Each rises as the other falls: and first
Passion a unit and *against* us—proof—
Nay, we must travel in another path,—
Or we're stuck fast for ever;—passion then
Shall be a unit *for* us; proof—no, passion!
We'll not insult thy majesty by time,
Person, and place—the where, the when, the how,
And all particulars that dull brains require
To constitute the spiritless shape of Fact,
They bow to, calling the idol, Demonstration.¹

This juxtaposition of crass opposites, this balancing of two claims to allegiance, is dramatically inept. The soliloquy comes from a man who is about to set a purely Godwinian trap. Marmaduke is caught in it, not, as Garrod asserts, because he does not wait for proof—no emphasis in the play is placed upon this failure—but because he becomes a convert eager to show his complete emancipation from the control of natural feelings.

¹ III, i, ll. 11–24.

For the purpose of the tragedy, at least, this muddled conception of Oswald produces obscurity. A dramatic figure who thinks in one fashion and acts in another is a source of confusion to any audience. It appears because Wordsworth finds it difficult to objectify a character. When he composed *The Borderers*, he was seeking to adopt a system of radical rationalism which was essentially antipathetic to his emotional nature. This effort precipitated a fierce struggle which he almost automatically transferred in different form to the two central figures in his play.

So in Oswald's soliloquy quoted above, Wordsworth is balancing two allegiances which at the time he believed to be incompatible. The one to a harsh form of eighteenth-century rationalism was not yet dead in his mind; the one to natural feeling had not yet matured into intuitive insight. Confusion in the conception of Oswald, and we might add occasional lack of clear distinction between him and Marmaduke, is due not so much to philosophical principle as to an artistic limitation which Wordsworth never transcended. In this play, as always, he seems unable to create any character who does not reflect the mental perturbations which he happens to be experiencing at the moment.¹

But the most interesting autobiographical revelation is to be found in Marmaduke's situation. His problem is not, as has often been asserted, how to extricate himself from a system of thought which he realizes to be detestable, but how to escape from insistent remorse due to the commission of a crime. The remedy which Oswald seeks to administer is Godwinian philosophy. Even though he may himself not have assimilated it in pure form, he applies it to his patient without dilution. The cure fails, and Marmaduke's tragedy lies not so much in the hideous nature of the attempted remedy as in the persistence of the remorse. In other words, all of the emotion in the poem gathers round an individual's tragic struggle with remorseless remorse. In this conflict, most of the autobiographical significance of the work should be sought: first, just because it is the focus of the author's intensity; and second, because it must have been primary in

¹ It should be noted also that, as Legouis suggests, Oswald seduces Marmaduke partly because he craves a companion in crime; because without sympathy which comprehends subjectively, he is wretched. This is also treachery to Godwin's self-sufficient intellectualism. However, as far as the actual march of the drama is concerned, it is no more than an incidental lapse.

the genesis of the poem. The remorse must have existed in the poet before he sought the necessitarian cure.

It must be admitted at once that remorse was a somewhat traditional theme for a tragic narrative as early as the seventeen-nineties. The conventional remorse, however, was always aroused by the commission of some crime. Superficially, that is also true of *The Borderers*. However, there is evidence in the poem that the more genuine remorse has a different and more personal origin. There is but one event in Wordsworth's life which suggests itself as capable of producing such devastating feeling as the poem depicts. That was his abandonment of Annette Vallon and their baby daughter.

↓The almost unavoidable inference that this desertion is the source of the emotion from which the poem springs is confirmed by clear indications throughout the work that Wordsworth's emotions are peculiarly sensitive: first, to the situation of the betrayed and abandoned mother; and second, to the relationship between a father and daughter. The emotions aroused by these situations are generally intrusions into the story. The dramatic unity is clearly disturbed so that Marmaduke may intrude the horror which he feels at the sight of the woman who has been betrayed and cast off by Clifford.

Alas!

What she had seen and suffered turned her brain
Cast off by her Betrayer, she dwells alone.
 . . . And so the wretch has lived
Ten years; and no one ever heard her voice
But every night at the first stroke of twelve
She quits her house, and, in the neighboring churchyard
She paces round and round an Infant's grave,
And in the Churchyard sod her feet have worn
A hollow ring.¹

In this poor creature, Marmaduke fancies that he sees the skeleton of Idonea. She, too, is to suffer such a fate through the baseness of a man who defiles the most sacred of relationships by pretending to be her father. This thought leads Marmaduke to exclaim:

Earthly law
Measures not crimes like his.

Thus the abandoned woman brings him back to the fact which arouses the most horror in him, the desecration of the natural love existing

¹ I, ll. 378-95, *passim*.

between a father and his daughter. This relationship becomes time and again in the poem a point of intensity.

In the first place, to Marmaduke, the enormity of the crime of which Oswald accuses Herbert is that he attempts his unspeakable betrayal under the guise of paternal affection. The mere thought of this villainy shakes the foundations of Marmaduke's moral life:

Father!—to God himself we can not give
A holier name; and, under such a mask
To lead a spirit, spotless as the blessed,
To that abhorred den of brutal vice!
Oswald, the firm foundation of my life
Is going from under me.¹

If the bond between father and daughter is not to be regarded as a sacred obligation, what is to become of those moral sanctions which the natural feelings give?

Marmaduke throughout the play shows his veneration for a father's relation to his child. Lacy's response to Oswald's incitements against Herbert's villainy is

Now, by the head
Of my own child, this man must die.

To this oath, Marmaduke, as one who knows its power, bows in reverence:

I love the Father in thee.
You know me, Friends; I have a heart to feel,
And I have felt, more than perhaps becomes me
Or duty sanctions.²

In his conversations with Herbert, he continually introduces the subject of the old man's relationships to Idonea.

Mar: This daughter of yours,
Is very dear to you.

Her: Ah! but you are young.
Over your head twice twenty years must roll
With all their natural weight of sorrow and of pain
Ere can be known to you how much a Father
May love his child.

Mar: Thank you, old man, for this [*aside*].³

¹ To the influence of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* has been ascribed Wordsworth's appreciation of the dramatic effectiveness of a supposedly unnatural father. Cf. Herzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 336. In view of our knowledge of the Annette episode, this source for the idea seems remote and improbable.

² II, ll. 560-63.

³ *Ibid.*, ll. 268-73.

Later, Herbert exclaims that he will never murmur against God for his blindness, for he has been left

. . . . ears to hear my Daughter's voice
And arms to fold her to my heart.

Finally, when the old man was found half-dead by Eldred on the moor, "he was muttering something about his child—his Daughter." Yet Eldred leaves him alone and is forced to hear from his wife, the single devastating reproach:

Eldred, you are a father!

After the crime has been committed and Marmaduke is suffering agony of remorse, he seizes Eldred in a passion to know where he has seen the old man.

Eld: Tis needless, spare your violence, His Daughter—

Mar: Ay, in the word a thousand scorpions lodge
This old man *had* a daughter.¹

His thoughts, one might say, fly to Idonea inevitably because he is in love with her, but it is curious to note that in the crises of his feeling, he speaks of her never as his adored one, but always as a wronged daughter.

Perhaps the best example of Wordsworth's obsession with this relationship is to be found in the second scene of the second act. The sole dramatic purpose of this scene is to give the pilgrim an opportunity to announce that Herbert is forthwith to be restored to his baronetcy. The news comes just as disaster is about to overtake him, and so is fraught with dramatic irony. However, the emotional value of the scene in no way depends on the revelation of this fact. It lies in a strange reminiscence in which the pilgrim indulges after his announcement has been made. He recalls an hour long before when he was traveling with her father as a companion mendicant. Idonea was then but "a tottering Little-one." An angry night overtook them; the thunder rolled in peals. In the midst of the storm's uproar, the blind Herbert had a vision of his daughter, a sort of veridical hallucination, which the Pilgrim reports as follows:

O Lady, you have need to love your Father.
His voice—methinks I hear it now, his voice
When, after a broad flash that filled the cave,
He said to me that he had seen his child,
A face (no cherub's face more beautiful)
Revealed by lustre brought with it from heaven;
And it was you, dear Lady!²

¹ V, ll. 79-81.

² II, ll. 63-69.

556
63
613

This episode contributes nothing to the dramatic value of the scene into which it intrudes or to a realization of the movement of thought and action through the tragedy. It is the artistic expression of an experience very like to that which must have come often to Wordsworth straining to envisage imaginatively his little daughter, to whom his affection and remorse must have flowed constantly across the Channel.

Throughout *The Borderers* fires of a resolutely concealed passion thus break out, revealing unawares the actual source of an emotion which in the drama is carefully provided with a conventional origin. Wordsworth himself later realized that in this play he had given most unguarded expression to his intensely personal struggle with speculative schemes.

That promised to abstract the hopes of Man
Out of his feelings.

At least he appears to admit as much in one of his characteristically oblique references to *The Borderers*. It occurs in that part of *The Prelude* devoted to this period of his life.

Share with me, Friend! the wish
That some dramatic tale endued with shapes
Livelier, and flinging out less guarded words
Than suit the work we fashion, might set forth
What then I learned, or think I learned, of truth
And the errors into which I fell, betrayed
By present objects, and by reasonings false
From their beginnings, etc.¹

This has generally been thought to be a reference to *The Excursion*, but every detail in the passage from "dramatic tale" to his betrayal "by present objects" describes more aptly *The Borderers*. They are just the kind of expressions to suit the poet's adopted method of referring to the Annette episode only in the most guarded and indirect terms.

Moreover, *The Borderers* is not the only work in which Wordsworth betrays his personal remorse in this clandestine and oblique fashion. We have already noted in another connection² two stanzas of "The Female Vagrant" and a passage in the third book of *The Excursion*³ in which this feeling asserts its right to live; snatches, as it were,

¹ *The Prelude*, IX, 282 ff. ² See *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1926), 303-5. ³ LL 844 ff.

the pen from the conscious author, and inserts in its own fulfilment lines which bear almost no relation to the context. These are but particularly significant examples of the poet's uncontrollable tendency to intrude upon his own dramatic creations. He describes the artistic phenomenon, in the excellent analysis of his own powers which he makes in *The Prelude*, as a turgid excess of creative energy.

A tempest, a redundant energy
Vexing its own creation.

In the light of such evidence, it is no longer possible to assume arbitrarily, as does Garrod, that the Annette episode was a matter of no consequence to Wordsworth's spiritual history. The facts revealed by Harper and Legouis are now seen to be of a sort to stir profoundly the nature even of the most insensitive man. The intense emotional susceptibilities of the young Wordsworth must have responded to them with a violence to shake his moral nature to its very foundations. Such an experience would be reflected powerfully in his art.

Now hitherto the whole matter has been received too much as a mere piece of gossip, an occasion for what Garrod calls "small talk about great men."¹ It has become widely current because it gives a destructive blow to the persistence in tradition of pontifical "daddy Wordsworth." Such a view of this episode is unintelligent. Scholarship now demands that the poet's first experience of the tragic conflict between natural duties and personal freedom be sympathetically studied with a view to determining its effect upon his art.

↓ We are justified, then, in asserting that in *The Borderers* Wordsworth is putting Godwin's philosophy to the severe test of its power to discipline an emotion that is for it anarchic—devastating remorse created by a bitter personal experience. This view of the drama brings us to the central problem of this study, to show how Wordsworth's mature theory of art arose out of a clash between Godwin's philosophy and the vital experience here unwillingly revealed.

Now the central idea of the plot of *The Borderers*, the form of Oswald's attempt to liberate Marmaduke from the control of his in-

¹ Cf. Garrod, *op. cit.*, p. 20: "It must needs be that there should be small talk about great men." Garrod takes the position that biographical study of an author, no matter for what purpose pursued, is an impertinence. He says (p. 21): "The poet is thought of as a man who writes a book. The book that he writes is his poetry. He gives you that (he, in fact, sells it to you) and you have no right to follow him home."

instincts and natural feelings, is an adventure in the Godwinian universe. The description of this cosmos as presented in Godwin's purely philosophical works is often complicated and contradictory. However, in his illustrations of its processes, contained in such literary works as *Caleb Williams*, it becomes much simpler. In these works of fiction, everything is presented as a mere puppet of necessity. It can be shown without much question that Godwin's influence upon Wordsworth was exerted almost as much through his novels as through his philosophical treatises. The poet's often-quoted advice to the student of chemistry, "Throw aside your books on chemistry and study Godwin on Necessity," shows what aspect of Godwin's thought caught his imagination. He was interested in the novelist's revelation of the moral and aesthetic implications of the necessitarian point of view.

This set of fatalistic doctrines robbed the individual's life of all its meaning. He became completely severed from his past. He retained no interest of any sort in the things which he had done. If he were wise, he would, like Oswald, allow chance remembrance of them to produce in him no emotion whatever, least of all remorse. He would live solely in the present, conscious that the future toward which he was moving was utterly unpredictable.

The individual thus found his life conducted to an *impasse*. The two constituent elements of his nature became locked in a death-struggle. Godwin believed that humanity could issue from this conflict only by stripping itself of all its passions and adopting without reservation his system of reason. Thus from Godwin's philosophy there emerges in absolute form the typical eighteenth-century triumph of reason.

A poet who adopted in whole-hearted fashion this particular form of determinism almost inevitably cast his tragic view of life into one of two aesthetic modes. The suffering of the man who subjects his will and his feelings, as Godwin advised, to rational necessity will be a mere pitiable spectacle. On the other hand, the man who foolishly tries to assert himself by acting in a world of forces which securely enmesh him is doomed to painful futility. His struggles, like those of Laocoon, seem mere muscular grimaces, capable of inspiring only

horror. Godwin's metaphysic thus gave additional authority to the two popular contemporary aesthetics of tragedy—that of sentimental morality and that of horror. Accordingly, the artistic methods of both the Gothic Romance and the sentimental narrative appear in exaggerated form in this work, written during the period of Wordsworth's discipleship.

→ In *The Borderers*, as in "Guilt and Sorrow," the emotional essence of the poem is sentimental. The main course of the action is artfully conducted in a way to arouse the greatest possible amount of pity. Herbert, the individual chosen by Oswald to be the victim of Marmaduke's emancipatory murder, is endowed with those very qualities most sure to arouse universal tenderness. Wordsworth emphasizes, not only his blindness and his helplessness, but also his innate nobility, his meekness, and his powerful, self-sacrificing love for his daughter. The dramatic situations are so contrived as to carry our pity for him to the very highest pitch. Idonea, too, is a figure designed to arouse the most intense sympathy. She is completely a blameless, tender-hearted creature. She devotes her entire being to her father. But for him, she is utterly alone in the world.

The supreme crisis of her pitiful story and of the tragedy as such comes when she learns that her lover has brought about her father's death. Tragically deserted a second time, she falls into a swoon and is borne off senseless while our hearts are suffused with pity. This oblique treatment of an emotional crisis, it may be remarked, remains a characteristic of all Wordsworth's art. It is due, not to any of his aesthetic formulas, but to a fundamental limitation in his artistic power.

→ Marmaduke, too, becomes at the end of the play an utterly pitiful figure. He departs to become a melancholy and hopeless wanderer over the face of the earth, seeking only expiation. Through him, Wordsworth makes clear the artistic value of this progressive invocation of pity. The character himself enunciates the aesthetic creed of sentimentalism:

Beloved! If I dared, so would I call thee,
Conflict must cease, and in thy frozen heart
The extremes of suffering meet in absolute peace.¹

¹ V, ll. 200-203.

A statement of another one of the tenets of this theory of tragedy is curiously put into the mouth of Oswald:

Action is transitory.

.
Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark
And shares the nature of infinity.¹

According to this aesthetic, then, grief which comes to the witness of undeserved suffering produces a peace deep and stable as infinity. In that peace lies the essence of the aesthetic experience, as Wordsworth always conceived it.

✓The dramatist, however, was not satisfied to trust exclusively to this sentimental aesthetic for all of his artistic effects. He also introduces some of the familiar paraphernalia of the aesthetic of terror. A forbidding moor peopled with strange fantastic shapes, the stage for much of the action, is early introduced. It is later swept by a storm like that in *King Lear*.² Eldred comes in from the moor, thus tempest-swept, to report his finding of the old man lying unbonneted upon the ground. He has raised him, seen blood upon him, and left him to die alone. His report leaves our imaginations sounding with the storm which howls over prostrate Herbert. Because of this murder, the moor becomes specter haunted. The characters shudder at the thought of crossing it.³

✓The properties of Gothic Romance are assembled perhaps most consistently when Wordsworth sets his scene for the spot on which Oswald seeks to induce Marmaduke to murder Herbert. We are conducted to the "area of a half-ruined castle on one side of which is the entrance to a dungeon." It is night. The cold is bitter and the tempest roars. Later we become aware of a foaming torrent and the ominous howling of a dog. These are objects guaranteed by ample usage to produce violent feelings.

¹ III, ll. 406-10, *passim*. Wordsworth prefaced these lines to *The White Doe of Rylstone* to serve as a kind of text to that poem.

² Idonea's speech echoes some of the old king's thoughts when he buffets the tempest. She says:

"The storm beats hard. Mercy for poor or rich
Whose heads are shelterless in such a night."

The influence of Shakespeare in establishing the principles of the aesthetic of terror was profound.

³ The beggar woman exclaims:

" . . . That Moor—How shall I cross it!
By night, by day, never shall I be able.
To travel half a mile alone."

Though the two aesthetics thus appear distinctly in this tragedy, they are here much more successfully blended than in "Guilt and Sorrow." In the earlier poem a confusion of the two produced emotional weakness and uncertainty in the moments of crisis. In *The Borderers*, the terror is clearly made subordinate to pity. It is largely used to intensify the situation in which Herbert is placed and so to render him more appealing to tenderness. The two unite to form a single impression, that of a man as helpless to influence events and so a pitiable object of suffering. The significant implication, however, to be discovered in Wordsworth's use of these two aesthetics in *The Borderers* is that, through an interpretation of his own life, he has come to realize that in the aesthetic experience, memory is a central fact. Both horror and suffering, he believes, are transformed through the serene operation of this faculty into the peace which is the essential quality of the aesthetic experience. Marmaduke's remark to Idonea,

In thy frozen heart

The extremes of suffering meet in absolute peace,

shows how Wordsworth conceived the refining influence of undeserved suffering to act. And Oswald interprets the aesthetic of terror by saying:

In terror

Remembered terror, there is peace and rest.

The excitation of both terror and pity thus converge in peace. This is a definite foreshadowing of the importance which the feeling of tranquillity is to play in Wordsworth's later conceptions of beauty. Moreover, his realization that, without the alembic of memory, experience cannot be distilled into beauty, points directly to the strong retrospective character of his whole mature aesthetic point of view.

The play, then, is in essence the poet's characteristically oblique artistic reaction to a great crisis in his life. A tragic experience brought him face to face with the moral *impasse* which Godwin's version of eighteenth-century rationalism created. He tried to escape from it by ignoring his past with all its envelope of feeling and by living entirely in the future. This attempt involved the complete surrender of his emotional life and, therefore, of the continuity of his individual existence. This Wordsworth could not do. His failure brought him a permanent conviction that his feelings were of primary

importance. Human nature, he learned, serenely emancipates itself from the trammels of a reason which seeks to prove that the very fabric of man's being is illusory. By sheer intensity, he raised his personal experience to the level of a universal problem. In solving his own difficulty, he found a way out of the rationalistic dilemma.

In the poem, the escape is not presented as part of the drama. Marmaduke is thrown back upon complete acquiescence in suffering and the poem upon the familiar aesthetic of sentimentalism. But Wordsworth himself was not to rest there. The feelings based on natural relationships which he had attempted in life to flout, and Marmaduke in the drama to override, even in the action of *The Borderers* reassert themselves as the fundamental facts of human life. Wordsworth, the artist, therefore, saw that they must serve as the bases upon which to build any vital aesthetic experience. The poet became in his eyes pre-eminently the "upholder and preserver of these natural feelings carrying with him everywhere relationship and love." In other words, Wordsworth discovered the truths later enunciated in the Preface to *The Lyrical Ballads*.

The Borderers, then, is no mere record of Wordsworth's conquest of Godwinian pessimism. It is, essentially, the record of a revelation that came to him when he tried to escape the inevitable consequences of a profound natural emotional experience through a philosophy that denied the importance and validity of that very experience. In the light of this illumination, he denied the philosophy and affirmed the experience. In so doing, he was able to appraise anew the values of life and to gain an original conception of the methods and aims of art. The poem thus records a strong transition in Wordsworth's soul which became in very fact the aesthetic transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The broken universe of the late eighteenth century, in which man and nature were disparate, gave way to the homogeneous universe of the nineteenth century, in which man became as never before at home in nature. A new world thus appeared in prospect, in which the poet's function was to bind together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society.

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II: *AI*

In the sixth volume of Skeat's monumental edition of Chaucer's works we find, among other things, a discussion of Chaucer's pronunciation. Skeat's treatment of this subject is pretty generally accepted as authoritative by Chaucer teachers, in this country at least. Any mistakes on the part of the learned editor, then, could hardly fail of wide though superficial propagation. Certainly the pronunciation of the diphthong *ai* is a case in point, although here, no doubt, the subconscious influence of present-day speech has always played an important part. For Skeat preaches the undeniably convenient doctrine that Chaucer pronounced *ai* as we pronounce it today. But let us see just what he says. I quote from page xxvi of his "General Introduction," substituting, however, square brackets for the round brackets which Skeat uses to indicate phonetic transcription: "*ai*, ay [ei]. Ex. *array* [arei]; *fair* [feir]. As in modern English." Skeat adds a note, which reads as follows:

Dr. Sweet gives the sound [ai], as in German *mein*. But he adds: "The distinction between *ai* and *ei*, as in *day* and *wey*, was probably still kept up in Chaucer's pronunciation, but the two diphthongs were beginning to be confused, probably through the *a* of *ai* being modified nearly to the sound of our vowel in *man*." However, the rimes prove that Chaucer never distinguishes between them at all; and I believe these diphthongs had been confused much earlier. . . . I should say that the statement that the *a* of *ai* was "modified nearly to the sound of our vowel in *man*" might have been much more strongly asserted. In such a word as *day*, from A.S. *dæg*, the *a* was already [æ] at the first, and needed no modification at all. It was already spelt *dei* before A.D. 1200; . . .

The dialectal *e* in *dei* belongs to the OE period; indeed, it is pre-historic. See K. Luick, *Hist. Gram. der engl. Sprache*, p. 166. It therefore cannot be used as evidence of a ME shift [æ > e], in the diphthong or elsewhere. Moreover, when Skeat objects to the statement that the *a* of *ai* was modified nearly to the sound of our vowel in "*man*," he shows himself contaminated, at least, by what may be called the

[æ]-heresy. There are those who believe that the [æ] of OE remained a front vowel throughout the history of the language, the [æ] of today being thus simply a perpetuation of the OE sound. Such people may be called [æ]-heretics; their heresy is just as convenient for would-be pronouncers of ME as Skeat's instructions for the pronunciation of *ai*: you need only to pronounce as in modern English! Unfortunately, however, the evidence is all against the heretics. The sound-shift [æ > a] is attested by the change in spelling and by rimes like "water": *mater* (*Prioresses Tale*, pp. 188 f.). It is supported, furthermore, by the grammatical treatises of later days and by theoretical considerations. As these last have never been pointed out, I may be pardoned for stating them briefly. The change [æ > a] is simply a part of a general ME change, which affected all the short vowels. In OE the short vowels were close; in ME they became open. The change involved at least two things: a lowering of the tongue and a shift to the rear of the place of articulation, things which regularly go together anyhow. The change [æ > a] is thus nothing astonishing. It is strictly in line with ME speech tendencies. In view of these tendencies, the preservation of OE [æ] in ME would have been nothing short of anomalous.

Now Skeat is not heretical on the ME pronunciation of *a* as such. He prescribes [a]. But he adds this significant remark:

"We have no clear evidence to show that the modern *a* [æ] in *cat* [kæt] occurs anywhere in Chaucer; though it is possible that the sound occurred in Southern English, without any special symbol to represent it."

This remark of Skeat's reveals that he had heretical tendencies; and these tendencies blossom forth when he comes to the *a* of the diphthong *ai*. Sweet held that this *a*, originally [a], later became [æ]. Skeat objects, and argues that "in such a word as *day*, from A.S. *dæg*, the *a* was already [æ] at the first, and needed no modification at all." In other words, Skeat maintains that OE [æ] never changed to [a] in such words as *dæg* > *day*, in spite of the spelling; he considers that here the [æ] remained, and by Chaucer's time had been raised to [e]. Skeat's views, then, may be formulated as follows: OE [æ] became [a] except in combination with an [i], however developed, where it remained [æ] in early ME, to become [e] in later ME.

In these views Skeat has found no followers, in print at least, so far as I know, except Mr. C. H. Foster, who in 1911 published a note on the subject in *Modern Language Notes* (XXVI, 76 f.). Even Mr. Foster does not go so far as Skeat. He sums up as follows (p. 77):

"The evidence . . . is fairly strong that Chaucer gave the diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* a sound between that of *ei* and *ei*, a pronunciation very possibly, in view of the recorded pronunciations of the sixteenth century, not so close as that of NE *they*."

It will be noted that whereas Skeat tells us to pronounce the diphthong "as in modern English," Mr. Foster more cautiously adds a "possibly not so close." We may be reasonably sure, nevertheless, that in practice Mr. Foster makes no distinction between the ME diphthong and its modern descendant. And, if I may judge from my own observation, the vast body of American teachers of Chaucer, although they have never printed their views, may safely be reckoned as disciples of Skeat in this matter.

Mr. Foster begins his paper with the following statement:

"Scholars now generally hold that Chaucer identified the diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* and gave them the sound of, approximately, *ei*." That Chaucer identified the diphthongs is obvious from the rhymes. I do not understand, however, where Mr. Foster got his idea that scholars generally consider Chaucer to have pronounced the diphthongs [ei]. Skeat, as we have seen, gives this pronunciation. But the English grammarians have never accepted Skeat's pronouncements, or perhaps it would be better to say that they have never paid any attention to Skeat's obviously superficial observations on the matter. Mr. Foster cites the *Modern English Grammar* of Professor Jespersen. It may be well, therefore, to see just what Mr. Jespersen has to say. On page 96 of the first volume of his *Grammar* I find the following:

"Towards the end of the ME period two hitherto distinct diphthongs *ai*(*ay*) and *ei*(*ey*) were confused into one /æi/ or /æi/, perhaps with a half-long first element. . . . The phonetic value of the diphthong was probably /æ:/ (the long of PE *had*) gliding slowly upwards in the direction of /i/."

In other words, the Danish grammarian considers that the two diphthongs were leveled under *ai*, not under *ei*. This view is diametrically opposed to that of Mr. Foster, who holds that the leveling

was under *ei*. Sweet's views, as quoted by Skeat, are apparently the same as those of Mr. Jespersen, though not so unequivocally expressed. The same may be said of Mr. O. F. Emerson's statement in the grammatical introduction of his *Middle English Reader*. Mr. Emerson states (p. xlii):

"ME *ai*, in the earliest times, had the sound of the diphthong in *high*. As *ai* came to rime with *ei* in late ME, its pronunciation probably assumed the sounds *a* (as in *man*) + *i* in the course of its development."

The theory that *ei* was leveled under *ai* in late ME times was first brought forward by Professor Karl Luick, of Vienna, in *Anglia* XIV (1892), p. 273. Mr. Luick says:

Es ist bekannt, dass bei Chaucer me. *ai* und *ei* ohne anstand im reime gebunden werden. . . . Auch in der spätmittelenglischen schreibung giebt sich dieser wandel zu erkennen, indem *ei* und *ai* nicht mehr genau nach der etymologie auseinander gehalten werden, und die neuenglische schreibung hat ja dies bewahrt. Die vermischung tritt in der weise ein, dass *ai* vordringt und das gibt uns einen hinweis, in welchem laute sich die beiden diphthonge vereinigt haben: in *ai*.

This view obviously differs somewhat from that held by Sweet and his followers. Mr. Luick says nothing about a change of *ai* from [ai] to [æi]. On the contrary, he assumes a change of *ei* from [ei] to [ai]. This solution of the problem is much more satisfactory than the other, since it accounts for both spelling and rhymes, whereas even if one assumes with Sweet that *ai* developed to [æi], one is still dealing with a diphthong somewhat different in quality from *ei*, which according to him was pronounced [ei], and such spellings as "way" for earlier *wey* remain unexplained. And it is the theory of Luick, not that of Sweet, which has found acceptance in most of the recent grammars. Thus, Professor W. Horn, of Giessen, in his *Historische neuenglische Grammatik* (1908), supports this view. He says (p. 96): "ME *ei* (wey) and *ai* (day) sind schon in Chaucers Zeit unter *ai* zusammengefallen (*ei* > *ai*)."
And much earlier, of course, Sweet, in his *History of English Sounds*, had pointed out (p. 241) that the Welsh transliteration known as the *Hymn to the Virgin* (c. 1500) uses *ai* (or *ay*, *æ*) everywhere except in the habitually unstressed "they." As Sweet adds, this points to [ai] as the English diphthong, 100 years after the death of Chaucer.

Since the publication of Mr. Foster's note several other works on

historical English grammar have appeared. The most important of these is Mr. Luick's still unfinished *Grammatik*, which bids fair to be the definitive work on the subject. Mr. Luick naturally holds fast to his original theory. He dates the sound-change *ei* > *ai* at c. 1300 (*op. cit.*, I, 433). I may mention also Professor H. C. Wyld of Oxford, who tells us in his *Short History of English* (p. 152), that "the old diphthongs *ai*, *ei* were levelled under one sound [ai] in the ME period (Chaucer), though the traditional distinction survived in the spelling." This work came out in 1914. In his *History of Modern Colloquial English*, published in 1920, Mr. Wyld holds to this view. He says (pp. 71 f.), "The following are some of the chief differences between the pronunciation of vowels in the ME period and that of the present day: . . . (10) ME *ai*, *ei*, both pronounced [ai] in the later period, . . ." The latest British writers on the subject, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Wright, adopt the same view in their *Elementary Middle English Grammar*. Finally, Professor R. Jordan of Jena, in his *Handbuch der mittelhochdeutschen Grammatik* (1925), pp. 106 f., takes the same position. In fact, Mr. Foster stands practically alone in his contentions, except for Skeat, and he appears to have misunderstood even Skeat's arguments, though one must admit that these are not notable for lucidity.

Mr. Foster continues as follows:

Jespersen . . . states as a fact that the ME diphthong had the value of *æi*. But no one has adduced adequate proof that his theory is reasonable; and no one, so far as I am aware, has adequately discussed Chaucer's pronunciation from the derivative or Old English dialect point of view. This note, therefore, though obvious, may perhaps be justified.

Mr. Foster here falls into two serious errors. In the first place, he attempts to determine the ME pronunciation through a study of the OE etymology alone. Thus, he argues that since "day" is derived from the Mercian *deg* it must have been pronounced [dei] in the fourteenth century. Of course his premise here is doubtful, since only in a part of the Mercian area were such pronunciations as *deg* current. But even if we grant his premise, his conclusion remains unsound. For if "day" is derived from *deg*, the *a*-spelling is obviously unhistorical, whereas the *e*-spelling (which also occurs) is historically correct. A spelling which is sound both phonetically and historically is, in the

nature of the case, well fortified; it tends to become traditional and to maintain itself even after it has ceased to represent the current pronunciation of the word. The rise of the *a*-spelling, then, and its triumph over the older *e*-spelling, find a natural and obvious explanation in a sound-change *ei* > *ai*, but become knotty problems indeed if one ignores the possibility of such a change (as does Mr. Foster) and attempts to account for everything on the basis of the OE etymology.

In the second place, Mr. Jespersen's theory that late ME *ai* was pronounced [æi] did not spring from the author's knowledge of etymology (as Mr. Foster evidently supposes), but is based on a study of modern English phonology. There can be no doubt that the diphthong eventually came to be pronounced [æi] or something of the sort. Mr. Jespersen simply dates the change [ai] > [æi] early—earlier than most scholars would agree to. He would find his support primarily in such studies as that of Zachrisson: *Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700*, although even Zachrisson does not carry [æi] farther back than the year 1400. There is nothing in Mr. Jespersen's *Grammar* which would lend any support to Mr. Foster's (and Skeat's) theory that OE *æg* and the like became *ei* without going through the stage [ai]. On the contrary, Mr. Jespersen seems doubtful of the existence even in OE of such a sound as [æ]. He inclines to the belief that the OE digraph stood for nothing more than an advanced *a* as in French *dame*.

The early history of our diphthong has been given in detail by Luick in his monumental *Grammatik*, and I need do no more than summarize it here. In words like "day" a diphthongal [æi] had developed in OE times (Luick, p. 233). During the eleventh century an [æi] developed likewise in such words as "tail," "nail" OE *tægl*, *nægl* (Luick, p. 365). The [æ] of the diphthong became [a] at the same time that [æ] in general became [a], viz., during the twelfth century (Luick, p. 347; cf. p. 352). Toward the end of the thirteenth century ME *ei* (open *e* + *i*) became [ai], as in "way" OE *weg*, "play" OE *plega*, "hay" OE *hæg*, "clay" OE *clæg*, "raise" ON *reisa*, "strain" OF *estrein* (Luick p. 433). The Anglo-Norman diphthong *ai/ei* was represented in English by *ai*, as "gay," "pray" (Luick, pp. 453 f.). The diphthong *ai* also appears in such words as "fail," "Spain," for *a* followed by a mouillated *l*, *n* (Luick, p. 449). In such words as "eight," "neighbour" the diphthong *ei* was preserved into the fifteenth century (Luick, p.

434). We thus cannot tell whether the leveling was under *ai* or *ei* in this case, as *ai* by then might have advanced to the stage [ei].

The value of the first element of the diphthong must be judged primarily by the spelling; the evidence of the spelling is particularly cogent when it marks a departure from the older, traditional spelling, as in "way" for earlier *wey* OE *weg*. In a few cases the second element of the diphthong is lost, as before *s*-combinations: "master" for earlier *maister*, "gasp" for earlier *gaispe*, itself from a still earlier *geispen*. In such cases the value of the first element of the diphthong becomes obvious. The sound-change [æi > ai] is simply a part of the sound-change [æ > a]. The change [ei > ai] however is a case of dissimilation. The same change took place in German, as everybody knows. The older *stein* "stone" came to be pronounced [stain], although the old spelling with *ei* has been kept to the present day. In the so-called Cockney English a similar change has taken place in recent times: the Cockney says [dai] rather than [dei], etc. Mr. Luick has brought the sound-shift [ei > ai] into line with a number of other diphthongal changes of the early fourteenth century. He groups the whole under the rubric: *Vereinfachung des Diphthongbestandes*. ME found itself supplied with about a dozen diphthongs. As Mr. Luick puts it, "Gegenüber dieser Mannigfaltigkeit macht sich nun, wie öfter im Mittelenglischen, eine Tendenz nach Vereinfachung geltend, die dahin ging, die weniger ausgeprägten Typen, d.h. diejenigen, deren Komponenten einander näher standen, zu beseitigen."

The diphthong *ei* was one of the diphthongs eliminated, manifestly because its component parts stood close to each other. In such words as "eye," where the first element of the diphthong was close, assimilation took place, and a monophthongal [i] was the result, though the old spelling was not given up—Chaucer usually spells "eye," though sometimes *ye*. In such words as *grey* however, where the first element of the diphthong was open, dissimilation took place, giving "gray" [grai]. The change is reflected in the spelling, but many *ei*-spellings maintained themselves by force of tradition, like "grey" itself. Before *gh* the *ei*-diphthong, whether close or open, seems to have resisted the tendency toward simplification.

But what happened next? Or, better (since we know what happened), when did the palatalization of the *ai*-diphthong begin? The

orthoepists of the sixteenth century usually describe the sound as diphthongal, and scholars commonly identify its first element with the so-called long *a*, which at that time was doubtless [æ] or [e]. There is some evidence that the smoothing of the diphthong, and its complete coalescence with "long *a*," had already begun in the sixteenth century. See E. Ekwall, *Hist. ne. Laut- und Formenlehre*, p. 26, and Zachrisson, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Zachrisson's investigations of fifteenth-century spellings led him to the same conclusion for that century (*op. cit.*, pp. 65 f.). From 1400 on, then, "long *a*" and *ai* were either identical, or, if they differed, differed only through the presence of an off-glide in the diphthong which did not appear in the monophthong. The most striking and persistent characteristic of the diphthong throughout its later history has been this identity of its first element with "long *a*." The identity was complete so far as the quality of the sounds was concerned, and nearly if not altogether complete in quantity as well. Strictly parallel are the relations between the *ou*-diphthong and the long open *o*. Here too we have complete identity in quality between the vowel and the first element of the diphthong from a very early period to the present day, and nearly if not altogether complete identity in quantity as well, the diphthong being distinguishable only by its off-glide, which, like the off-glide of *ai*, had vanished by the seventeenth century if not before. It is a reasonable inference, then, that inasmuch as the long *a* and *ai* kept in step from the year 1400 on, they were in step before 1400. In other words, the first element of the diphthong *ai* was qualitatively identical with the long *a* in the fourteenth century, even as it has been in all succeeding centuries. If so, the palatalization of the diphthong and the palatalization of the long vowel began at the same time. Now no one would argue that the palatalization of the long *a* began before 1400; hence it is probable that the palatalization of the diphthong too began only with the fifteenth century—a conclusion which is in accord with Zachrisson's results, and agrees with Jespersen's statement if by "towards the end of the ME period" the fifteenth century is meant.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Grand Prix Gobert of ten thousand francs has been awarded by the Institut de France to D. S. Blondheim, of Johns Hopkins University, for his group of studies entitled *Les Parlers Judéo-Romans et la Vetus Latina: Etude sur les Rapports entre les Traductions bibliques en Langue romane des Juifs au Moyen Age et les anciennes Versions*, Paris, 1925. For a review of this work, see this journal, XXIII (February, 1926), 356-57.

Of the three volumes which Professor Carleton Brown proposes to devote to the medieval religious lyric in England, the first to appear is *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* (Oxford University Press, 1924). The other two volumes will contain selections from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the final one is to include a historical and critical study of the type. This is a field that the ordinary student has hitherto found it impossible to deal with intelligently. A number of the lyrics have never been published, many more have been accessible only in rare works, and the variant texts of still others have never been printed or collated. By virtue of his years of work in the field, Professor Brown is perhaps the one man to close this gap in our literary history. The present volume, with its 135 poems arranged in approximately chronological order, renders a large body of the extant fourteenth-century pieces accessible. Nearly a third of the poems have never been printed before, and many others are for the first time printed from the earliest or best text. The notes have something significant to offer for nearly every one of the selections—records of extant forms and editions; lists of variant readings for a number of pieces which on account of their popularity underwent striking changes from generation to generation; comment on various groups in the homiletic, moralizing, and mystical poetry of the century; indication of sources in Latin hymns, passages from the Church Fathers, and so on. The Introduction and notes also call attention briefly to various phases of the development of the religious lyric in the century, such as the contribution of individual men and schools, the translation of poems for use in sermons, and the growing skill and power shown in the later moral and mystical lyrics. Many of the more significant poems published here have long been recognized as possessing the magnificent qualities belonging to the medieval lyrics in Latin and in the vernacular found among the continental peoples. But in reading through the selections of this volume one is surprised at the large number showing a fine poetic quality, whether it be in the power of the reflec-

tion on life and manners found among the moralizing poets or in the freshness of the constantly recurring notes of tenderness and rapture heard among the mystics.—C.R.B.

From a sense of proprietorship, French as well as English readers have an affection for Arthurian stories. The recent paraphrase in modern French prose of Chrétien's *Erec* and *Yvain*, by André Mary,¹ is close enough to the originals to inspire confidence and full enough to possess style. Nothing essential to the narrative has been omitted (the famous *Con mar i fus!* is well rendered by "Tu fus là-bas pour ton malheur!") Such condensation as there is aids rather than harms the story; M. Mary has also a just appreciation of Chrétien's importance in medieval literature. The illustrations, by Maurice Lalou, are appropriate and in excellent taste. But M. Mary is primarily an *amateur de livres* and not a scholar. His Introduction states that from 1160 to 1170 "Chrétien vécut à la cour de Flandre" (for which there is no evidence) and, referring to the *Yvain*, it concludes:

On n'a pas, que nous sachions, dégagé la signification originelle de la fable qui sert de base au roman. Qu'est-ce que cette fontaine? Cette femme impérieuse qui en est la dame? Ce chevalier qui la défend? C'est, suivant nous, un mythe analogue à celui du prêtre de Némé, débris d'une antique religion agricole.

On all of this we may remark, in the language quoted a century ago in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*,

Hätt' er etwas mehr gelesen,
So erfänd' er nicht so viel.

The fact is, the analogy of the Fountain story and the Arician Diana myth (see now Zenker, *Beiheft* 70) was originally set forth in *Modern Philology*, III (1906), 267 ff.; and again *ibid.*, VII (1909), 145 ff.; and *ibid.*, XX (1922), 101 ff. Erudition is not the prime function of a popular preface, but a due regard for accuracy is expected of the critic as well as of the scholar.—W.A.N.

The Provençal numbers in the series "Classiques Français du Moyen Age," edited by M. Roques, are now eight in number. The works of six individual poets have been edited, besides which there is a collection of Gascon troubadours and a life of a saint. In addition to these texts, the Provençal publications include Jeanroy's bibliography of all the Provençal poets: nine issues in all.

Of these nine works, five, or over half, are due to A. Jeanroy, who has given us editions of William IX, of Cercamon, and of Jaufre Rudel, as well as the Gascon collection and the bibliography. All these works are marked by thoroughness and ripe scholarship. The introductions to William IX and Jaufre Rudel, for example, discuss the language and the versification of the

¹ *Erec et Enide, Le Chevalier au Lion, traduits de Chrétien de Troyes*. Paris: Boivin et Cie, n.d.

poet; that of Jaufré Rudel also traces the development of the poet's romantic biography. These texts are carefully established and are adequately translated. The bibliography is characterized by the same thoroughness: there is, first, a complete list of manuscripts and diplomatic editions; then come general collections of verse and regional collections; and, finally, a list of editions of individual poets with critical remarks and references to the chief reviews of the editions. Jeanroy's other work, the collection of Gascon poets, had a different purpose—to present raw material for the student rather than finished work: no text is established and there is no translation.

As to the other works in the series, W. P. Shepard's *Jausbert de Puycibot* (1924) is a competent piece of work, done in the Jeanroy manner. The same may be said of Långfors' *Guilhem de Cabestanh*, in which, however, the editor deals more with the different redactions of the poet's fantastic biography than with the usual questions. Textual difficulties are few in Brunel's *Sainte Enimie*, because of the existence of only one manuscript. Anglade's *Peire Vidal* is somewhat less satisfactory because of being based almost entirely on Bartsch's earlier edition, and because the variants are not thoroughly presented.

Thus the Provençal numbers in the "Classiques Français du Moyen Âge" represent a substantial beginning. It is to be hoped that their number may be increased by the inclusion of some of the better texts already published elsewhere as well as by the addition of new material.—EDWARD L. ADAMS.

Albert Wesselski's *Märchen des Mittelalters* (xxiii+272 pp. Berlin: Stubenrauch, 1925) may be justly said to be the year's most important contribution to the comparative study of folk-tales. It contains a prefatory essay on the delinquencies of the Finnish method of investigation; sixty-six narratives, which often vary considerably from the type usually called *Märchen*; and seventy pages of commentary and citation of parallels. Professor Kaarle Krohn has already defended the Finnish method in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* (Helsingfors), May, 1925. Wesselski stresses the importance of literary fixation of a theme and believes that the Finnish method neglects it. The significance of intentional changes, which loom large in Wesselski's eyes, is naturally much greater in tales preserved as literary relics. The novelty and value of the Finnish method lies in matters which have been quite overlooked: it emphasizes the geographical limitations of the changes in tales and the possibility of eliminating such changes by comparison. Each change which comes into a tale has a definable vogue; it spreads over a definite area and can be identified by its distribution. Comparison of scores, even hundreds of tales on a single theme, makes possible the discarding of accidental changes and the recognition of a drift in the tradition. In all this there is nothing mystical, nothing of a romantic *Volksgeist*. No believer in the Finnish method will maintain that the application of the method has yet been perfected. At most he would maintain that the method has produced a technique capable

of improvement, and until now a technique for such study has been lacking. Wesselski's notes need no commendation to those who know his *Mönchslatein* and his later works; they are, as always, admirable. The firm of Herbert Stubenrauch has produced an attractive and indispensable volume.—ARCHER TAYLOR.

A notable event in the field of English philology is the publication of *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, professor of English literature in the University of London (Cambridge University Press, 1925). Professor Spurgeon undertook this work at the suggestion of Dr. Furnivall, as far back as 1901. In 1911 she published the first fruits of it in her doctoral thesis at the University of Paris, *Chaucer devant la critique* (Paris: Hachette et Cie). In that work, which extended to four hundred and twenty-two pages, she surveyed many aspects of the history of Chaucer's reputation from his own time to ours, including Chaucer's reputation in France (sixty pages) without printing the text of the allusions. From 1914 to 1925, the complete collection of quotations appeared in parts (under the title given at the beginning of this paragraph) among the publications of the Chaucer Society. The present edition is printed from the stereotype plates of the Chaucer Society issue, and therefore is, with a few additions, identical with the latter. It adds, however, twenty-four colotype illustrations, comprising reproductions of pages from manuscripts, portraits of Chaucer, and modern pictures of Chaucerian scenes. The present edition is in three volumes, of which the first contains a brief Foreword, an Introduction of a hundred and thirty-six pages (largely summarized from the French work cited above), and the text of allusions from 1357 to 1800; the second volume gives the text of the allusions from 1801 to 1900; and the third gives appendixes, containing additional references, German and French references, and an Index.

Concerning the larger significance of the work Miss Spurgeon truthfully says:

The collection itself must in one sense remain unique. Of no other great English poet will it be possible, for a century and a half to come, to collect a continuous record of the critical opinion of his countrymen during five hundred years. Indeed there is only one other European poet,—greater even than Chaucer [i.e., Dante]—the fluctuations of whose fame can be followed during these special centuries, which bridge over the time of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and from the Renaissance to the modern world [p. cxliii].

Discussion of the value of such a collection of allusions is unnecessary. It provides an opportunity of observing not only the history of Chaucer's reputation but also the development of English criticism and taste. This latter value of the work Miss Spurgeon well understands: in *Chaucer devant la critique* she devoted a chapter to a brief account of the evolution of literary criticism as revealed by her data; in the Introduction of the present work (pp.

cxiv ff.) she again offers some generalizations (drawn from this material) as to the growth of critical taste. She introduces her deductions by these effective sentences:

As we watch this vast company of writers passing before Chaucer, and leaving on record their opinion of him, it is curious to reflect that the criticism Chaucer has received throughout these five centuries in reality forms a measurement of judgment—not of him—but of his critics. Just as we trace the development of the mind of an individual by studying his opinions and works at different periods of his life, so it would seem that in looking at this ever-shifting procession of critics we can trace the development of the mind and spirit of the nation to which they belong.

Miss Spurgeon then sketches briefly "the evolution in taste, in critical standard, and critical faculty," the evolution of "new senses, especially the sense of humor," and "the evolution of scholarship and accuracy in literary matters." Obviously, this collection of material affords a basis for many such studies, and it will have as great a value therefore to the general literary historian or the students of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries as to the Chaucerian.

Such a collection as this is, of course, never complete. That further references still remain to be found is indicated by the fact that Professor H. E. Rollins, of New York University, has contributed seventy-eight items to Appendix A, and that many others, evidently discovered too late to be included in their proper places, are added there.

The form of the work is entirely satisfactory: definite bibliographical details are given for each allusion; the quotations are sufficiently full to be clear, and are given verbatim. Where necessary Miss Spurgeon has added a note of explanation or reference to a published discussion. Many an entry is a model of compression and clearness (e.g., the account of the succession of articles on Chaucer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*). The physical appearance of the work, moreover, is handsome, and the presswork is all that one could ask.

The Chaucerian of our day is fortunate in being well equipped with tools: He has Miss Hammond's bibliography, supplemented by Professor Wells's *Manual*, the *Life-Records of Chaucer*, this monumental collection of allusions, and he will soon have Professor Tatlock's concordance. He needs now only a Chaucer lexicon, which the Middle English dictionary, already begun, will supply in time.—J. R. H.

In *The Platonism of Joachim du Bellay* (University of Chicago Press, 1923) R. V. Merrill has made a scholarly contribution to the study of an important element of French Renaissance literature. The term Platonism covers such a wide range of varying elements that it is very confusing to the student who first approaches early sixteenth-century literature. The studies of Professor Lefranc, now dating back a number of years, and particularly his analysis of the religious thought of Margaret of Navarre, form a necessary foundation

for the studies which have followed. The biographer of almost every poet of the early Renaissance has had to treat his or her relation to Platonism. R. V. Merrill's essay has, however, the additional merit of presenting one of the fullest and most lucid analyses of the movement and its various aspects. This is particularly commendable, inasmuch as Du Bellay, the poet, was himself far from systematic, and reflects not contradictory but yet not necessarily identical emotions, shading from pure Platonism into neo-Platonism and Petrarchism.

The first chapter disentangles the threads of literary and social Platonism. It is shown to the reader how the original doctrine of the Academy became in time perverted into the confused theological and metaphysical neo-Platonism which the Renaissance encountered; how in Paris Ramus tried to return to the doctrines of Plato in dialectic, and in Italy certain poets tried to react in love against the jargon of neo-Platonism, so that in the literary background of Du Bellay we find both strains, but the neo-Platonism often purified by a more sincere Platonic idealism. The author points out the ready confusion made between Platonism and Petrarchism, though the latter sets the lover below the beloved, whereas the Platonist is in time freed from physical passion and proceeds by the side of the beloved one to virtue.

But this chapter is obviously preliminary. The second and longest section examines the Platonistic concepts in the works of Du Bellay, under the general headings of "Cosmos," "Beauty and Virtue," and "The Soul." The author, while avoiding the appearance of a catalogue, skilfully brings together the passages illustrating Du Bellay's indeterminate poetic Platonism, ranging from the expression of somewhat conventional and superficial phraseology to the idealism of the famous sonnet, "Si nostre vie est moins qu'une journée." Merrill has made his survey effective by constant comparison and reference to the passages in Plato's *Dialogues* upon which the structure of literary Platonism has been erected.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters, which are all briefer, clarify still further Du Bellay's thought by showing what are his direct as opposed to ultimate sources, his stages of poetic development, and the character of his Platonism. The task of differentiation between expressions of true feeling and the reiteration in other passages of conventional commonplaces and *clichés* is subtly done. Merrill's study will remain a valuable item for record in the bibliographies of helpful studies in the details of the French Renaissance.—C. H. C. WRIGHT.

Two books of importance to students of Samuel Johnson have appeared within the last few months. One of them is a new edition of the well-known *Bibliography of Samuel Johnson*, by W. P. Courtney and D. Nichol Smith, which was originally published in 1915 as No. IV of the "Oxford Historical and Literary Studies," and is now reissued with the welcome addition of thirty-eight facsimiles, chiefly of title-pages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925).

The other is Joseph Epes Brown's *The Critical Opinions of Samuel Johnson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926).

This latter work—a beautifully printed volume of three hundred fifty-one pages—is admittedly a compilation, but it is a compilation of an unusually intelligent and useful sort, which can be recommended alike to Johnsonians and to students of the general history of literary doctrines in the eighteenth century. The task which Mr. Brown set himself was to bring together, under appropriate headings in a double alphabetical index, all the passages in Johnson's writings or recorded conversations which express either general literary theories (Part I) or judgments on particular authors and works (Part II). The result is a rich anthology of texts, the more important of them quoted or analyzed in detail, conveniently arranged in chronological order under each heading, with numerous cross-references and with occasional notes pointing out anticipations of Johnson's ideas in earlier writers or calling attention to modern studies of special points, the whole introduced by a forty-page essay which undertakes to define the chief tendencies in Johnson's literary doctrine and to situate it in the movement of aesthetic theory in the eighteenth century.

The work, on the whole, is very competently done. We have noted no omissions of important passages, and in a fairly large number of cases in which we have compared Mr. Brown's text with his original we have discovered no serious errors in transcription. Our chief reservations have to do with the notes and the Introduction. We could wish, for example, that the attempt made here and there in the notes to illuminate Johnson's historical position by paralleling or contrasting his views with those of earlier critics had been carried out more thoroughly and systematically. We do not of course expect from Mr. Brown an elaborate commentary such as would be appropriate in a critical edition, but surely to have given us more notes like those on pages 6 and 135 would not have placed on him an undue burden of research.¹ The consequence of this failure to take adequate account of the critical literature antecedent to Johnson appears strikingly in the Introduction. This is in many respects a sound piece of interpretative writing, sound in its definition of the distinguishing elements in Johnson's doctrine, sound—and somewhat original—in its analysis of his connections with the "liberal" critics of the mid-eighteenth century. It presents, however, a view of Johnson's relation to neo-classicism which Mr. Brown, we feel sure, would not have advanced had he known the representative critics of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as well as he knows Johnson. It is true, of course, that Johnson condemned imitation of models, denied the sanctity of many of the "rules," and consistently subordinated authority to "Nature."² But it is not true that

¹ In general, Mr. Brown shows adequate familiarity with recent scholarship in his field. References might have been added, however, on p. xlviii, n. 101, to A. D. McKillop's article in *Modern Philology*, XXII, 391-404, and on p. 324, n. 1, to Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature*. The article mentioned on p. 134, n. 1, appeared in *Studies in Philology*, not in *Modern Philology*.

² See particularly the texts printed by Mr. Brown on pp. 10, 133-37, and 221-26.

doing all this constituted in any fundamental sense a "break with neo-classicism." For the distinguishing feature of neo-classicism as it appears in all its most influential spokesmen from Boileau to Pope was not, as Mr. Brown thinks, "its concept of authority," but precisely that appeal to "Nature"—to "the natural and invariable constitution of things"—for which Johnson stood. It was in "Nature" and not in the ancients or the rules, we may recall, that Pope placed the ultimate "test of art"; such authority as the rules had for him derived from the fact that they were simply "Nature methodiz'd"; and he could be as outspoken as Johnson in his scorn for critics who "write dull receipts how poems may be made." The only difference, in fact, that we can see between Johnson and the critics who are generally recognized as orthodox neo-classicists is that he perhaps went farther than some of them did in distinguishing between the genuine "laws of nature" and the "accidental prescriptions of authority." But this, if true, amounts to no more than a difference of degree; that there were rules, "invincibly supported by their conformity to the order of nature and operations of the intellect," to which poets must conform, he never once questioned. And that, after all, is the essential point.—R. S. C.

A preliminary report of progress on the first of the *Handwörterbücher zur deutschen Volkskunde*, which are planned by the Verband deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde, was made at the annual meeting at Stuttgart on September 26, 1925, and is now printed as "Anlage zu Nr. 31" of the *Mitteilungen des Verbandes*. The first *Handwörterbuch*, a compendium of German superstition, is already well advanced. The six hundred thousand cards which have been made and arranged in alphabetical order will soon be put at the disposal of the collaborators. By this means it is expected that the lexicon can be prepared in an unusually short time. The following groups of ideas will be taken up in their relation to superstition: law, religion, the vocations, clothing, the house, utensils, food, agriculture, parts of the body, sickness, birth, marriage, death, manners and customs, feasts, the saints, animals, plants, minerals, astronomy, meteorology, divination, magic, charms, witches, the devil, and others. So far as possible each group will be assigned to a single subeditor. It is hoped that the finished articles will begin to be delivered to the editors-in-chief by the end of 1926, and that the first fascicle can be printed in the spring of 1927. Although the work is announced only as a compendium of German superstition, it will of course be much more. It can be expected to provide scholars with a firm foundation for comparative studies in superstitions. The competence of the editors-in-chief, Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, author of *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schweiz* (1914), and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, editor of the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, is already thoroughly established.—ARCHER TAYLOR

The *Neuhochdeutsche Sprachlehre*, by Willy Scheel (Heidelberg, 1908), is on the whole disappointing, the natural consequence of its exceeding brevity,

viii+89 pages. But why put into the hands of those who are unable to judge for themselves a digest of facts given so inadequately that they are necessarily misleading? At times one cannot help wondering whether Scheel himself understood the facts. Thus (p. 34) it is stated: "Das *h* in *befehlen* ist ursprünglich—kein Dehnungszeichen, sondern ein stammhafter Konsonant, der aber gegenüber der älteren Form seine Stelle gewechselt hat (*befehle: befille*).” The facts are that the *h* (as spirant) in the older form disappeared with the consequent lengthening of the vowel in the open syllable. But the statement in the book would lead the learner to assume that metathesis had taken place. Again, in discussing the change of older *i* to *ei*, it is said (p. 24): "Alte Formen erhielten sich noch in unbetonten Nebensilben: *Heinrich* gegen *Reichtum*." This should have been explained as the regular shortening in the unstressed syllable, as in *kindlich: gleich*. On page 46, *wir nahmen* is given as "die folgerichtig eingetretene Dehnung des Pluralis in offener Silbe," in spite of the fact that the vowel was here originally long: OHG *nāmum*. These and similar loose statements make the book an unsafe guide.

Similarly dangerous are Heinrich Schröder's *Ablautstudien* (Heidelberg, 1910). This is the same Schröder who, in *PBB*, XXIX, 479 ff., reduced "movable *s*" to an absurdity; and, in his *Streckformen* (Heidelberg, 1906), drew more inflex out of the air than anyone before ever dreamed of. In these *Ablautstudien*, he refers to a base *stenak(y)* OHG *stincan*, ON *snaka*, *snjkr*, etc.; to *steyek* NHG *stauchen*, Du. *verzwikken*. Thus any consonant may be excluded so as to combine NHG *steuern*, *schwören*, *schwer*, *schwären*, Gr. *στύραξ*, *ἔρμα*, *ῥπος*, *ῥρκος*, *ῥρκος*, etc.; Goth. *sniumjan*, "eilen," NHG *schwimmen*; MHG *smouch*, "smoke," OHG *swehhan*, "riechen," etc. In the entire book there are few combinations that are probable and many that are impossible. Such comparisons lead to utter confusion and are incapable of proof; to believe in their possibility would render linguistic research a futile occupation.

Professor Dr. Ernst Meyer, Wiesbaden, in his article on "Die deutsch-lettisch-litauische Sprachverwandtschaft" (*Mitteilungen*, No. 1, 1. Jahrgang), releases the vowels and consonants from all restraint and makes it possible to combine any word with any other. This article accompanies a catalogue of historical and linguistic books (Georg Neuner, Berlin) and would not deserve notice if it did not indicate a vicious tendency. One instance will suffice to show the method of the writer, who connects NHG *lieben*, *buhlen*, Gr. *φιλέω*, Lith. *mýliu*. This is the boldness born of ignorance.—F. A. W.

Shakspeare's Debt to Montaigne, by George Coffin Taylor, of the University of North Carolina (Harvard University Press, 1925), presents an imposing array of parallels between Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays* (1603), and the plays of Shakespeare written during the second half of his career. In the body of his work Professor Taylor prints and discusses a group of passages from the essays and the plays showing that Shakespeare seemingly echoed the thought and at times the phraseology of Florio's Montaigne, and

the appendixes contain a group of less significant passages and an astonishingly large number of phrases and words "in Florio's Montaigne used by Shakspeare only during 1603 and after." Though no new parallel so notable as the well-known one of *The Tempest* (II, i, 143-58) has been found, Taylor has brought together much evidence to show the kinship of these two great figures of the Renaissance who searched the complicated meanings of life more brilliantly than did any of their contemporaries and who certainly reflected frequently on the same problems. A large number of the parallels are found in *Troilus and Cressida* and in *Hamlet*, both of which most students regard as having been written before 1603. This raises a question as to whether after all most of the parallels are not due to a common inheritance of Renaissance ideas shared by Montaigne and Shakespeare. Evidence of contact between the two minds seems to me clearest in *King Lear* and *The Tempest*. But here apparently opposing points of view are revealed. Shakespeare stands firmly for the social and moral tenets and institutions which the Renaissance as a whole believed in, and he expresses his individual sympathies and antipathies without questioning the basis of the accepted social structure, whereas Montaigne, for all his humanistic leanings and conventions, is constantly undermining the foundations of Renaissance institutionalism. To my mind, both *King Lear* and *The Tempest* include definite attacks on the iconoclastic phases of contemporary philosophic thought as reflected in Montaigne, and it is probable that the reading of the essays influenced Shakespeare strongly in these two plays. Caliban seems a definite answer to Montaigne's glorification of primitive people in his essay "Of the Caniballes," and Gonzalo's use of Montaigne's passage on the ideal socialistic state of the Indians is made to involve a *reductio ad absurdum*, since Gonzalo "would be king on't." In connection with *King Lear* the passages that Taylor cites from the essayist on "the oppression of aged tyranny" indicate a lack of sympathy with old age, while the darkest pictures of villainy in Shakespeare represent youth's disregard of its obligations to age.¹ It is only just, however, to say that the other parallels between Montaigne and *King Lear* quoted by Taylor reveal a harmony between the two writers in their reflection on the paradoxes of life. Whether or not one agrees with Taylor as to the extent or nature of Montaigne's influence on Shakespeare, one must be grateful to him for his intensive study and his painstaking collection of material bearing on the relation of the two.—C. R. B.

¹ It is possible that Shakespeare's attention was called to the problems of aged tyranny and children's obligations by *The Old Law*, which was probably first acted in 1599. The ideas that Edmund ascribes to Edgar (I, ii, 47-57, 74-79) and other parts of *King Lear* seem to reflect that play as well as the whole essay of Montaigne under consideration here, "Of the affection of fathers to their children."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature.

By CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP, with contributions by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS and ANDREW KEOGH. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925. Pp. 507.

"The present volume," writes Professor Northup in his Preface, "attempts to supply a full though not a complete list of the bibliographies of the language and the literature of the English-speaking peoples." It opens with a brief "Introduction" by Mr. Keogh (pp. 1-7) on "general reference works of interest and value to the student of English which do not specifically relate to the English language and belles-lettres." The *Register* itself is divided into two parts, headed respectively "General" (pp. 9-33) and "Individual Authors and Topics" (pp. 34-417). The second of these constitutes the heart of the work: it is an elaborate subject dictionary catalogue, in which the individual bibliographies are arranged alphabetically under the author, work, or topic to which they pertain. The great majority of the entries in this section are naturally of the "author" type; topical entries, however, are fairly numerous, and some of them—notably those on "American Literature," "Bibliography," "Drama," "Fiction," "Manuscripts," "Periodicals," "Poetry," "Printing and Publishing," "Translations," and "Travel"—amount to substantial bibliographies in themselves. The record in both parts is brought down to October 1, 1924, but there is an appendix of "Additions and Corrections" (pp. 419-49), which lists a few later items. An excellent index (pp. 451-507) closes the volume.

Those who are familiar with the earlier bibliographical work of Professor Northup, particularly his admirable *Bibliography of Thomas Gray*, will not need to be told that the *Register* has been prepared with a thoroughness that on many points at least is close to exhaustiveness. The original numbering of items runs to 5,680, but with all the additions and insertions (indicated by a system of decimal numeration), the final total cannot be far from 10,000.¹ It is beyond comparison the most extensive bibliography of bibliographies ever published for its special field. To say this, however, is to give but a very inadequate idea of the intelligent concern for the needs of scholars which Professor Northup has shown in its compilation. Especially praiseworthy is his extension of the term "bibliography" to include many types of publication—

¹ This total, however, includes the fairly numerous "additional entries."

histories, editions of texts, dissertations, articles and notes in periodicals—whose bibliographical value, not being obvious from their titles, is too often not realized by students. He has been no less commendably liberal in his decision as to what should be understood by "literature." Philosophers like Locke or James, scientists like Newton, statesmen like Jefferson, have interested him equally with novelists and poets, and contemporaries like James Joyce and Theodore Dreiser, equally with older and more established reputations. He has added greatly to the practical usefulness of the book, too, by supplying critical notes, many of them containing valuable lists of reviews, by giving full bibliographical descriptions, and by multiplying cross-references. The *Register*, in short, is an admirable instrument of work, in point of richness and variety of contents quite unrivaled in its class.

It has its shortcomings, of course. The arrangement of material, satisfactory on the whole, could undoubtedly have been improved in a number of respects. It will be a matter of regret to many, I believe, that Professor Northup did not give more weight in his general scheme of organization to considerations of chronology. This is done to excellent purpose in the article on drama; but nowhere else in the *Register*, so far as I have noticed, is any special provision made for readers whose primary concern might be to know what bibliographical guides exist for the systematic study of a particular literary period. The information can be gathered from Professor Northup's pages, to be sure, but only at the cost of a laborious search through Part I and the entries dealing with literary genres in Part II; it might easily have been made accessible in a more direct way through the insertion of a few additional headings (for example, "Colonial American Literature" or "The Restoration") and an increase in the number of cross-references. The treatment of material in the section headed "General" also seems to me open to criticism. As it stands, this part of the *Register* can be only a source of annoyance to the student. To begin with, it includes a large number of works which are every whit as specialized as many of those listed in the second part—bibliographies or studies of limited topics like Miss Brown's *The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum* (No. 32) or Miss Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (No. 204), or of particular periods like Arber's *Term Catalogues* (No. 9). Some of these works, it is true, are referred to under appropriate headings in Part II, and when this is the case no one can complain, though it is difficult to see why they should also have been allowed to occupy valuable space in Part I. Unfortunately, however, there are not a few items, no more "general" than these, which appear only in Part I. And here the mischief is serious, for who could be expected to look in the "general" section of a book like this for bibliographies on such special subjects as the relations of science and literature in the classical period (No. 60), medieval English historiography (No. 142), or southern American literature (No. 197)? Clearly one of two things should have been done: either the system of cross-references should have been made ex-

haustive or, better still, all the specialized items now listed in Part I should have been taken out and arranged under proper topical headings in Part II. The trouble with the general section, however, is not merely that it contains material that might more conveniently be placed elsewhere. An even more annoying circumstance is the fact that its highly miscellaneous contents are presented without the slightest attempt at classification. Bibliographies of bibliographies, dictionaries of authors, catalogues of libraries, trade bibliographies, lists of rare books, bibliographies of current publications, encyclopedias, lists of reference books, learned journals—all these varied types of tools are thrown together in one alphabetical list that runs to fifty or (if the Supplement is included) to fifty-six closely printed columns. Surely Professor Northup could have done better than this! To have grouped all the items of a single kind under an appropriate subhead would have cost him but little extra labor, and the resulting gain to the reader in ease of reference would have been immense.

The *Register*, again, rich in substance as it is, is not entirely free from regrettable omissions. That it realizes to a quite remarkable extent its professed aim of including "all items of real value," there can, I think, be little question, and it must of course be remembered, as Professor Northup reminds us in the Preface, that "the compilers have deliberately rejected some thousands of references which might have gone into the book." Still it is possible, after only a limited checking, to make up a fairly formidable list of oversights, some of them involving works of fundamental importance in their respective fields. Not all of the items that follow—a selection from a somewhat larger total that I have noted—are of this type; all of them, however, seem to me to have as good a right to inclusion in the *Register* as many of the items that are now there. I give them in the order and with the numbering which they would have in Professor Northup's scheme.

DOBELL, P. J. *Books of the Time of the Restoration, being a Collection of Plays, Poems, and Prose Works produced between the Years 1660 and 1700, by the Contemporaries of John Dryden*. London, 1920. [59.1

NEWBERRY LIBRARY, THE. *Book Arts*. Parts I and II. Chicago, 1919, 1920. [760.2

FLASDIECK, H. M. *John Brown (1715-1766) und seine "Dissertation on Poetry and Music"*. Halle, 1924. [942.3

SPURGEON, CAROLINE F. E. *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion (1357-1900)*. Cambridge, 1925. 3 vols. [1270.1

Originally issued for the Chaucer Society, 1914.

DOBELL, P. J. *John Dryden; Bibliographical Memoranda*. London, 1922.

[1964.1

MCCULLOCH, J. R. *The Literature of Political Economy, a Classified Catalogue*. London, 1845. [2004.1

BARBEAU, A. In his *Une ville d'eaux anglaise au XVIII^e siècle: la société élégante et littéraire à Bath sous la Reine Anne et sous les Georges* (Paris, 1904), pp. 313-39. [2100.05

- BERNBAUM, ERNEST. *The Mary Carleton Narratives, 1663-1673*. Cambridge [Mass.], 1914. [2196.05]
- CAZAMIAN, MADELEINE L. In her *Le roman et les idées en Angleterre: l'influence de la science* (Strasbourg, 1923), pp. 455-72. [2203.2]
- HUGHES, H. S. "English Epistolary Fiction before *Pamela*." In *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 156-69. [2227.055]
- NEW BEDFORD, MASS. Free Public Library. *Catalog of English Prose Fiction*. New Bedford, 1895. [2240.05]
- SCHULTZ, W. E. *Gay's "Beggars' Opera": Its Content, History, and Influence*. New Haven, 1923. [2498.21]
- DOTTIN, PAUL. "A Chronological List of Gildon's Works." In his *Robinson Crusoe examin'd and criticis'd*. . . . (London and Paris, 1923), pp. 47-53. [2520.05]
- GRAVES, T. S. "On the Reputation of John Heywood." In *Modern Philology*, XXI (1923), 209-13. [2785.05]
- CLARK, A. M. "A Bibliography of Thomas Heywood." In *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, I (1924), 97-153. [2786.2]
- BROOKE, TUCKER. "The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe." In *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXV (1922), 347-408. [3508.15]
- DRAPER, J. W. In his *William Mason, a Study in Eighteenth Century Culture* (New York, 1924), pp. 337-65. [3540.1]
- GALLAND, RENÉ. *George Meredith and British Criticism (1851-1909)*. Paris, 1923. [3576.2]
- ROLLINS, H. E. "Martin Parker, Ballad-monger." In *Modern Philology*, XVI (1919), 449-74; cf. *ibid.*, XIX (1921), 77-81. [3848.1]
- AITKEN, G. A. "Notes on the Bibliography of Pope." In *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XII (1914), 113-43. [4236.05]
- CASE, A. E. "Some New Poems by Pope?" In the *London Mercury*, X (1924), 614-23. [4237.05]
- SHERBURN, GEORGE. "Notes on the Canon of Pope's Works, 1714-20." In *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 170-79. [4244.1]
- BÖHME, TRAUGOTT. *Spensers literarisches Nachleben bis zu Shelley*. Berlin, 1911. [5056.1]
- JONES, R. F. In his *Lewis Theobald: His Contribution to English Scholarship* (New York, 1919), pp. 347-55. [5251.05]
- TREGASKIS, JAMES. [Editions of Thomson's *Seasons*.] In his *Caxton Head Catalogue*, No. 556, London, February, 1912. [5268.05]
- FOSTER, F. M. K. *English Translations from the Greek, a Bibliographical Survey*. New York, 1918. [5307.1954]
- HECHT, HANS. *Daniel Webb: ein Beitrag zur englischen Ästhetik des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Hamburg, 1920. [5468.1]
- KITTREDGE, G. L. "Notes on Witchcraft." In *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XVIII (1907), 148-212. [5594.12]
- NOTESTEIN, WALLACE. *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718*. Washington, 1911. [5594.13]

I have dwelt at perhaps too great length on the shortcomings of Professor Northup's book. Certainly it would be unfair to leave the impression that it

is not in all essentials a very admirable piece of work. Such defects as it has can easily be remedied in a second edition, and even as it stands it is bound to render services to students in all fields of English that will be literally incalculable.

RONALD S. CRANE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Lettres de Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, Comtesse de La Fayette, et de Gilles Ménage. Publiées, d'après les Originaux, avec une Introduction, des Notes et un Index. By H. ASHTON, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. University Press of Liverpool, Ltd.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1924. Volume I, "Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association."

There are two hundred and two letters in this collection. One hundred and eighty-six are from the pen of the Comtesse, and all but four of them—one to M. de St. Pons, two to the Marquise de Sablé, one to Huet—were written to Ménage. His contribution consists of twelve letters in French and four in Latin.

In his Introduction (twelve pages) the editor gives brief accounts of the manuscript and of the relations between Mme de La Fayette and Ménage as seen through these letters, and concludes by an indication of their significance for a clearer comprehension of the real Mme de La Fayette.

About fifty of Madame's letters are very brief, and most of these are grouped together (CXI-CLV, pp. 121-37). It is not because their brevity renders them less interesting or important, but because there was no way of determining their date or sequence. The rest are dated and arranged in chronological order. The dating in most cases seems to have been based almost wholly upon internal evidence, and this arduous task seems to have been satisfactorily performed. The correspondence between the two principals begins, as the editor states in his Introduction, "shortly before her marriage," but it is evident that the letters here given, and dated from 1654 on, were preceded by others. In the first letter, for example, the Comtesse complains that his letters "viennent toujours beaucoup plus tard qu'elles ne devraient" (p. 23). After the first letter, "elle [la correspondance] est très suivie de 1655 à 1662 et reprend vers 1689 pour cesser quelques mois avant la mort de Ménage."

The footnote material, on the whole, is adequate, although at times giving an impression of meagerness. For example, on page 25, a M. de Sévigné of the text is identified in Note 1 as Renaud de Sévigné—only that and nothing more. A detail or two, or at least a reference to d'Haussonville or to the editor's own very satisfying treatment of this gentleman in his life of Mme de La Fayette (pp. 16 ff.), would have been serviceable to the uninitiated. This

criticism applies to a few other cases. The volume is also very fully indexed. One wonders, in passing, why the eleventh *Lettre Provinciale* is listed only under the designation given it in the text: *lettre des Jansénistes*.

As the editor points out in his Introduction, these letters have been quite abundantly cited by d'Haussonville in his *Mme de La Fayette* (1891 and 1896); also by André Beaunier in his *La Jeunesse de Mme de La Fayette* (1921), and by the editor himself in his *Mme de La Fayette* (1922). But this in no way detracts from the value and interest of this publication. These letters, read serially, present an interest and importance quite apart from that which they have when read separately and when used to back up some statement of a biographer. We follow in them from day to day, or rather from week to week, the preoccupations of a distinguished lady of the seventeenth century who was herself a *grande dame*, and at the same time a woman of letters; who was happy in her home, where she reigned as "absolute mistress," "adored" by her husband, of whom she was "very fond"; who was interested in what interested her and not so much in what interests us. There is much enthusiasm over *Le grand Cyrus* and *Clélie, les petits vers* of her correspondent and of other *beaux esprits*, over her studies, over social and occasional political events, and the vicissitudes of her health. There is no allusion to the Hôtel de Bourgogne or to the opera, no mention of Corneille, Molière, Racine, Boileau, or La Fontaine.

We are indebted to Professor Ashton for this publication, and to the Modern Humanities Research Association, which hereby begins auspiciously the series of its publications. We trust that it will not seem ungracious if we voice our regret that the editor did not see fit to join to his publication the limited number of other letters of Mme de La Fayette which are scattered through various *Recueils*, publications, and editions of the author's works: the thirteen letters to Mme de Sévigné published in *Les Oeuvres complètes de Mesdames de La Fayette, de Tencin et de Fontaines* (1820), II, 498 ff., along with the two or three score whose existence he has indicated in the *Bibliographie* at the end of his biography, pages 237 ff., Nos. 153-71.

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CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP: *A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature* (Ronald S. Crane).—H. ASHTON: *Lettres de Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne, Comtesse de La Fayette, et de Gilles Ménage* (Colbert Searles).

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Individualism or Socialism?

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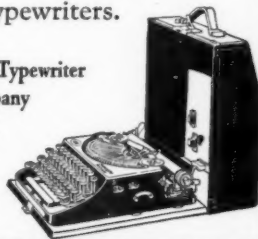
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